

Life of Sir Henry
Lawrence

VOL-2

1845

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LIFE OF SIR HENRY LAWRENCE.

CHAPTER XIII.

1844-1845.

NEPAL CONTINUED—TROUBLES AND JOURNALS—RECALL OF LORD
LINDSEY—DEATH OF MRS. LAWRENCE—OCCUPATIONS
—HENRY LAWRENCE'S LITERARY PURSUITS—THE “CALCUTTA
REVIEW”—FOUNDATION AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE LAW-
RENCE ASYLUM—A STROLL IN NEPAL—FIRST SIKH WAR—
SUMMONS TO THE PUNJAB—CIVIL AND MILITARY STATE OF
NEPAL.

AT this point Sir Herbert Edwardes left the biography of his friend unfinished. It has fallen to my lot to state, as well as I can, from the voluminous memorials left by Sir Henry, the tale of his achievements; taking it up at a crisis when a period of rest was vouchsafed him for a few years. His career of almost incessant labour and anxiety might have been happier even than it was, if he had had philosophy enough to emancipate himself for a season from the pressure of eagerness for employment, for fields of military activity and fields of

political excitement, by which his spirit was ceaselessly impelled forward.

Sir Henry Lawrence's estimate of his own physical condition at this period of his life may be gathered from a letter which he addressed from Nepaul (April 8, 1845) to the directors of the Universal Life Assurance Society, Calcutta. After specifying some slight dyspeptic and Indian health-troubles which had assailed him, he proceeds:—

I often ail, but, with the exceptions above noted, do not remember having been confined to my bed for a day since 1826. My habits are extremely abstemious. I keep very early hours, eat sparingly, and rarely touch wine, beer, or spirits. I believe I can stand fatigue of mind or body with any man in India. I have repeatedly ridden eighty and a hundred miles at a stretch at the hottest season of the year: and I have for weeks worked twelve and fourteen hours a day, at my desk. Here I have almost a sinecure, and have no possible temptation to try my strength.

He writes to a friend from Khatmandoo, 4th February 1844:—

. . . It is Sunday; here, for the first time since we were married, are we able to have it a day of rest. . . . I hope soon that we will teach these rude people to respect our Sabbath as we do theirs. I have next to nothing to do, unless I mix in the intrigues of the court, which I have no fancy for; and I have told the nobles and the king and the prime, that I came to rest myself, and not to make war, or to do anything but to make myself comfortable by advising them to be quiet. It is just dark, and we have returned from a ride to the top of a Buddhist temple, two miles off, from which we had a splendid view of the Nepaul valley; its capital at our feet, its hundreds of villages and hamlets scattered over the gently cultivated steeps; its two winding rivers, its several dense woods, and its girdle of dark mountains—some wooded, some

LETTER TO MR. MARSHMAN.

bare, but many of them now tipped with snow; and behind them, to the north and east, the Snowy Mountains, some white as snow, some partially covered, and all running into every fantastic shape,—a lovelier spot than this the heart of man could scarce desire; in every direction we choose to ride we have lovely or sublime prospects. Every day and every hour a new scene opens upon us; then the towns, the temples, the people, are all fruitful in interest to us.

The climate, though warmer than Simla, is, for residents throughout the year, preferable; it is likened to Montpellier—never hot, never very cold. We have a house, too, 1,800 feet high, twelve miles off, where we can go, if we like, in the hot weather, as 'tis as cool as at Simla.

Has not our 'c. t' been, been cast most mercifully; and what have we to a k. in India? Indeed, I would not now change for the berth I so much wished for—that is, the head of the Punjab Agency: and that I look on as the most desirable appointment in the plains; it is, however, not unpleasant to think that some people fancy I ought to have got charge of the Sikh duties. My friend Clerk, however, was right; they would, in my present health, have knocked me up.

The only regret I have is, that my exile is, for the present, prolonged; but this regret is lessened by the thought that it may prevent that exile being permanent.

To MR. MARSHMAN.

MY DEAR MARSHMAN,—

Nepaul, April 17th, 1844.

I FEEL sincerely for your domestic position, and can, perhaps, the better do so that I am myself so differently situated, and have so often had reason to expect a different fate. In the midst, moreover, of more happiness than I ever enjoyed, I can feel for those who have been tried by affliction, and especially for those who, looking beyond the grave, strive with Christian fortitude to continue in the course of active life. Our own lot has fallen in a goodly land, at a time, when we least wanted and least expected it. My wife and our surviving child unable to live in the plains, succumbed to the two American fevers, and almost yearly

fevers ever since. We were preparing for England without the means of paying our passage home, when we were sent here. In our thankfulness for this change of fortune, for quiet, ease, health, and competence, in lieu of toil, discomfort, and sickness, and for years having literally no home, no place of retirement; when it was comparative rest and comfort to go out to camp in the hot winds, or to ride off fifty or sixty miles at a stretch, to exchange the daily and nightly toil of cantonments for village work:—all this we have exchanged for a paradise, and we would endeavour not to close our hearts towards those who are so differently situated. You astonish me by the account of your labours, and I wish we could have you here for a season, to enable you to rest mind and body. . . .

In the silence of official records or detailed journals as to his career in Nepaul, I will continue his history by extracts from such letters as were collected by Sir Herbert Edwardes, for the purpose of illustrating this part of it:—

MRS. LAWRENCE to LETITIA HAYES. 10th April 1844.

It feels cold, Lettice darling, to let such a number of letters go home without one word to the dearest of all. . . . We are well, dearest sister—well in every sense—and happier than I can tell you. 'Tis seven years this day since I looked my last look on England, you having embarked me on the 3rd; since then we have each had a varied path; but we hope, through the mercies of God, in His Son, that we are seven years nearer to the place where "time enters not, nor mutability." But of all earthly blessings beyond what we have got, we most earnestly long to meet, face to face, those who have loved us through all changes. God bless, guide, keep you, beloved sister.

(Added by HENRY.)

I can never do better, dearest Lettice, than say ditto to my dear wife's lucubrations, especially when she addresses you, regarding whom we are at least agreed, if on nothing else.

This is, indeed, a lovely place, and we enjoy it much, being as idly busy as ever were man and woman, though I should say we three, for Jim is ever with us. . . .

From Lord Ellenborough. The news of his recall by the Court of Directors, for reasons on which it is unnecessary to touch here, arrived in India on the 15th June:—

Calcutta, June 17th, 1844.

MY DEAR MAJOR LAWRENCE,—

I THINK no Court will puzzle itself more in framing conjectures as to the cause of my recall than the suspicious and intriguing Court of Nepal; and you will have some difficulty in making them understand that this event will have no effect upon the measures of the Government, those measures being entirely under the control of the Crown.

My successor¹ will do all I should have done. You may tell the Court that he has been selected, amongst other reasons, because he is my brother-in-law and most confidential friend. When they observe upon his being a soldier, you may tell them he is the best we have, but that he is not, on that account, the less desirous of peace.

Yours very faithfully,
ELLENBOROUGH.

Answer of H. Lawrence, the 28th June 1844 :—

MY LORD,—

I WAS much gratified by the receipt of your lordship's note of the 17th instant. The enclosed will show you what I have written to the Rajah. I also verbally explained the relative positions of the Crown, Ministers, and Court of Directors. I have satisfied the Durbar that Sir Henry Hardinge will carry out your lordship's views of foreign policy. I explained that the new Governor-General had been War Minister; and, as a soldier, was second only to the Duke of Wellington, but that, nevertheless, he was a man of peace. . . .

¹ Sir Henry, afterwards Lord, Hardinge.

I am trying to procure a good Ghoorkha kookree, which I hope your lordship will accept as a small remembrance of Nepaul, and the gratitude of its Resident, who, soldier though he be, trusts to succeed in preserving peace here, and who is persuaded that this can only be effected by honestly working out your lordship's instructions.

Part of a long letter to Mr. (now Sir Frederic) Currie, on Nepaul politics, representing the difficulties in which a former Resident, Mr. Hodgson, had, in Sir Henry's opinion, involved the Government:—

Sept 11th, 1844.

You know me well enough to believe that I can let people alone, and will obey orders; and that when I consider it my duty to give my opinion that it is best for Nepaul, as well as ourselves, to keep them strictly to the letter and the spirit of the Treaty, I am not likely to involve any Government by straining our claims. I never yet saw a Native the better for yielding to him; and, certainly, Nepaul is no exception to the rule. If there is any doubt in any question between us, I would give them the benefit; but I would make them abide strictly by the boundary, and not give up land because they had usurped it, and thereby encourage them to further encroachment. Excuse this long yarn: as you made me a diplomatist, I would fain appear in your eyes an honest, and not an indiscreet one.

A protracted interruption of correspondence here follows, during a winter in which Mrs. Lawrence was first visited with serious illness, from which she indeed recovered, but never thoroughly enjoyed health in India afterwards:—

From MRS. LAWRENCE to MRS. CAMERON.

DEAREST, DEAREST MARY,—

February 17th, 1844.

I HAVE put off writing to you, in hopes of feeling better, till I thought I should never write again to you, and

any one else. Since I last wrote to you in August, I have been continually suffering, and for three months have scarcely left my bed. On the 24th January I gave birth to a son—a darling, healthy babe, and at first I recovered well; but since then, I have been dangerously ill, with more acute suffering than I ever recollect. My strength is wonderfully returning, but I still feel shattered. I yearn to give proof of my loving remembrance to you and others whom I love; and, therefore, I write these brief, imperfect lines, to tell you how the conviction of meeting you hereafter enhanced my affection for you, when I thought my own mortal hours numbered. Mary, our trust in Jesus is no delusion: He is with the feeblest of His followers, to uphold them, and make them feel that He afflicts in love and wisdom. May we cling closer and closer to the Saviour: learn more of His meekness; and, if we live to rear these little ones He has given us, may we bring them up as for Him. I cannot write more now.

Your faithful friend,
H. L.

(Continued on the same page by H. LAWRENCE.)

Nepaul, February 27th, 1845

MY DEAR MRS. CAMERON,—

DURING the last terrible fortnight my dear wife often thought and often spoke of you. All present danger is now over, and she will soon, I trust, be able to write to you fully, how much she bears you in remembrance. Alick was again ill last month; his illness was one of many causes of Honoria's attack. We, fortunately, had a second doctor in the house at the time—a German, in attendance on Prince Waldemar of Prussia. For three days I had little hope of my wife's life. She was quite resigned, and talked to me composedly of the friends she thought she was leaving for ever in this world. Offer our kind regards to Mr. Cameron, and believe me yours affectionately,

H. LAWRENCE.

~~an~~ extract of a letter from Lawrence
to Lord Auckland (the 25th May 1845), concerning

Nepaul affairs, relates the tragical end of the too-powerful Minister, Matabur Sing, uncle, as before stated, of his present eminent successor, Sir Jung Bahadoor. After a reconciliation with the Rajah—

In December, Matabur again took up the turban, and for five months was in great feather, daily receiving some mark of favour, khilluts, titles, and solemn pledges of safety; four of these last he had engraved in gold, and surrounding them with diamonds, wore them constantly, in the fashion of an immense medal. The inscription told of his skill, bravery, and fidelity; how he had saved Nepaul from foreign and domestic enemies, and united in peace the hitherto squabbling members of the Royal family. They were given in the name of the Rajah, as well as of his son. All went quietly, and possibly might have continued so for some time, had Matabur acted prudently and temperately. As far as I consistently could, I assured him that it was impossible the Rajah really could be satisfied; but, in his vanity, he believed that he had effectually frightened all whom he had not gained. The chiefs were certainly weak enough in words, and the troops were found so obedient that he got them to pull down their old barracks, and carry the materials a mile, to build them up again near his own home. I hinted to him the danger of so employing the soldiers, but he would take no advice. The Rajah, however, was not slow to take advantage of the discontent now caused. He sent for him at midnight, on urgent business, and had him assassinated in his own presence; some say, in that also of the Ranee. She was, at any rate, in the plot, and her principal attendant was one of the executioners. Before daylight of the 18th the corpse was sent to the Temple of Persputnauth to be burnt. The sons of the late Minister have effected their escape to Sagowrie; two or three of the family have been seized, and, twelve hours after the murder, not a voice was to be heard in favour of the man who the day before had been everything. . . . There is not a soldier in Nepaul; scarcely a single man that has seen a shot fired, and not one that could lead an army. The shield

are a very poor set, effeminate, debauched creatures, wanting in all respectable qualities. Matabur Sing was a hero, was a prince, compared with the best of them. The Ghooikas will always intrigue, and will generally be as insolent as they are permitted to be; but they know our power too well to molest us, unless in some such catastrophe as would cause general insurrection in India. . . . The soldiers are quiet and orderly; but, otherwise, I have been much disappointed in them, and I much doubt if the next war will find them the heroes they were in the last. The country is a magnificent one. Thirty thousand men could take it in two months, without fear of failure—a much less number and less time might do; but, acting on its fastnesses or against fortresses, the matter might be made one of mathematical certainty. By allowing six or eight thousand Ghooorkas to enter our regiments of the line, this country could be held without increasing the army above four regiments; we should then have a splendid frontier in the Snowy Mountains, and a line of sanatoria from Daijeeling to Almoia. I see the advantage to us of taking the country, whenever the Ghooorkas oblige us to do so; but I have no wish to hasten the measure, for it is only justice to them to say that, bad as is their foreign and Durbar policy, they are the best masters I have seen in India. Neither in the Terai nor in the hills have I witnessed or heard of a single act of oppression since I arrived, a year and a half ago; and a happier peasantry I have nowhere seen.

From MRS. LAWRENCE to Mrs. CAMERON.

Nepaul, July 25th, 1845

. . . For a year past, writing has been a great effort to me. Generally on the couch, the mere act of writing was fatiguing, and I felt still more injuriously the excitement of replying to a letter that interested me. Truly I have been but a cumberer of the ground for many a day, and have feared that one of the most difficult parts of submission is, to submit to its useless. Lately, however, I have again rallied. I do not reckon on established health, but I am most thankful for the present respite, and for being able once more

to occupy myself a little in home duties, and to resume this one mode that we have of communicating with absent friends. . . . Our nearest European neighbours are a week's march from us at Segowlie, and even with them we have no possibility of intercourse during eight months of the year, when the malaria of the forest is pestilential. . . . It will give you some idea of our *impracticable* position here, when I tell you that for months we had been negotiating at almost every station between Allahabad and Calcutta for a monthly nurse, and when at length she came, for less than three months, her visit cost us above one hundred pounds. The year closed upon us gloomily enough; but on the 24th of January I was confined beyond all I had dared to hope, of as healthy, thriving a babe as mother's heart could ask. At first I got on so well that Henry left me to go and meet Prince Waldemar. It opened a year of wonders for Nepaul—the first *Christian* infant born—the first nurse that ever had been heard of; a second English lady come across their frontier (for Henry has got a new assistant, a married man), and the first European travellers who had ever found their way to Nepaul. A few days after Henry left me I became very ill, and I have little recollection of anything except dreadful bodily suffering, and intervals of consciousness, during which the mighty arm of our heavenly Father sustained me and kept me in peace. I was quite aware of my own danger, and the tranquillity with which I could think of quitting those who make life precious to me, was a boon that I desire to treasure in my heart, along with the recollection of the mercy that upheld me four years ago, when our sweet daughter was taken from us. You may believe that it was no small trial to Henry to have the house full of strangers at such a time; but these very circumstances made him the more appreciate the consideration and kindness of our guests, particularly of Prince Waldemar, so that it was not as a mere form that you accepted his offer of being godfather to our baby, to whom we have given the name of Henry Waldemar. And as I write these words, I stop to look up at the radiant little being, in all the perfection of infantine health and happiness, crowing and almost springing out of his nurse's arms; his long, wavy

curls waving on his head ; his mouth set with two little pearly teeth ; his round, plump, ivory limbs, as firm and cool as if he had been reared on your Highland braes. He is, indeed, as lovely an infant as parents could ask for. Oh, that you could see him ! . . .

By the time I had recovered in some measure from my illness, the season was too far advanced for our reaching the plains, otherwise we should have thought it right to make the fearful sacrifice of my going home and taking Alick. I would not obstinately or thanklessly reject any means whereby my health or his might benefit ; but I could not help rejoicing that my going was impossible for that season. Whether the measure may be either practicable or necessary next cold weather is quite uncertain, and I try to put away the thought from me, except in prayer, that we may be guided to a right decision when the time comes. Home is not less dear to me than when I left it. No, indeed, each year of absence makes it seem " more dear, more dainty, and more sweet." But it would not be home without Henry. I will not venture to say more on the subject now. In May I again was very ill, and felt as if all my vital powers were exhausted, like a lamp with no oil in it. Again I have recruited, and am now in very fair health—still feeble on my limbs, and easily knocked up by any effort to act or think, but relieved from the load of pain and depression which have often made me feel it more difficult to be resigned to life than to death. And now we pursue our usual quiet, and, in a certain sense, busy life. Henry for ten years led a life of such urgent external labour that he had little leisure for study or thought. He is now reading systematically, and writing a good deal. How I like to think of your reading our Bellasis,* for it will give you many a sketch of our actual experience. I suppose the book has had no public success, or we should have heard of it. Colburn published it on his own responsibility, and we have never seen it, though it has passed its appearance. The friends to whom

* The author is the work of fiction, founded on Eastern experiences, published by H. Lawrence in London (1845), under the title, *Adventures of an Englishman in the Service of Naseer Singh.*

we sent copies speak of the work as interesting for the author's sake, but if any review or even newspaper has thought it worth criticising, we have never heard. It is not, therefore, for fame that Henry now keeps his pen busy. Last year a work was started in Calcutta, called the *Calcutta Review*. We liked its principles and style, and knew more or less of almost every contributor. Henry therefore has made an effort to help on the work, and, little interest as our local Indian literature excites at home, I think you may possibly have heard of this periodical, as it is in some degree the foster-child of the Indian Free Church. Dr. Duff's name you may probably know, and he and his colleagues write for the Review. Should you meet with the work, and have courage for our sakes to venture on an Indian publication, you will find much that I think will interest you. Our contributions treat of "The Sikhs and their Country," "Kashmir, &c.," "Military Defence," "Romance and Reality," "Oude," "Mahrattahs," "Carriage for the Sick and Wounded," "English Children in India," and "English Women in Hindostan." Writing and reading are truly a resource here, where we have no society. . . . This lack of intercourse with our kind is very benumbing, especially as we necessarily see so much that is hateful and degrading in the conduct of a Native court—a climate where "all men are liars." But enough of ourselves and Nepaul. You asked for details about us, and surely you have got them to your heart's content. Now, "thou friend of many days, of sadness and of joy," will you in return tell me much about yourselves. . . . ?

A few extracts from Mrs. Lawrence's journal may find their place here. They will serve at all events also to add new touches to the character which the reader will already have drawn for himself of this noble-minded lady. Like her husband, she was an incessant writer; the long hours of languid Indian life in a secluded region were energetically conquered by the constant exercise of the pen. Even the very severe

illness under which she had suffered scarcely interrupted her labours. She corresponded largely with his sister, Mrs. Hayes, and with other English and Indian friends ; she assisted her husband as amanuensis ; she contributed articles of her own, and helped to polish his, for the infant *Calcutta Review* ; but, amidst all these occupations, she steadily, when in tolerable health, journalised on, compiling a record on which she counted for the amusement of her husband and instruction of their children in years to come.. Page after page is filled with the outpourings of an enthusiastic spirit respecting her own domestic joys and cares, the progress of her children, the details of the daily life and thoughts of her husband, her passionate prayers for spiritual as well as earthly blessings on them all. But these are intermingled with shrewd observations on matters of daily interest, with descriptions of natural scenes which show how strongly the romance which these engender, so peculiarly attractive to women of highly cultivated minds, had possession of her imagination, and with playful traits of criticism on Native ways and people. I insert a specimen or two of her miscellaneous observations on these topics, partly in order to show that Lady Lawrence, who has been usually drawn as something almost too "high and good" for the trifling amenities of ordinary life, was, in truth, as observant, as quick to catch the minor features of the daily course of her time, and possessed as much of the trivial spirit of playful satire, as well as of romance, as the most popular letter or anecdote writer of her sex :—

Saw Mrs. — and her sweet, healthy, *very* small daughter. How small a way externals go towards making a person look interesting. Here was everything interesting in

her situation ; a young mother, "fresh from the perilous birth;" pretty, too, very pretty as to features and complexion ; herself and husband almost alone in this secluded spot, and I fancy fond of each other ; in short, every accessory for pictorial effect that a painter or poet could ask. Yet I confess that, except the unconscious little infant, whose small helplessness goes straight to my heart, I saw nothing to interest me. The new-made mother seemed to look with the same eyes on the baby and on the pillow. Apathy is the very most hopeless material to deal with !

"
September 1845.—At sunrise this morning I tried to sketch the outline of the snow. Papa's Dewalagiri and mamma's Dewalagiri, as Tim calls the mountains you and I respectively patronise. It is curious to remark how very different the altitude of the entire chain appears during different parts of the day. At sunrise it appears remote (I should guess ten to twelve miles, though I know the peaks are from thirty to 100 miles off), and then they appear as if we looked down upon them. Now, at noon, the sides are much more hazy and indistinct, yet the whole chain appears much more lofty and nearer. The snow visible from this place lies W.N.W. of us, and the sun, of course, now rises nearly due E. I have not noticed anything like a rosy tint on the hills at sunrise ; then they are of something like a French grey, with the edges of a dazzling silver, that gradually overspreads the whole surface as the sun rises higher. Then, too, the sky is of a deep, deep blue, from which they stand out. As the day advances, the tint of the sky becomes paler, and of the hills deeper, so that they do not show very distinctly, except in the salient angles that throw back the light. As the sun approaches the western horizon, the sky again deepens to intense, transparent blue, and a deeper shadow falls on all except the western faces of the pinnacles. At this time, sometimes it would be difficult to believe we were looking at a snowy surface, for, except the glittering profiles of the crags, all is of a deep neutral tint. But when the sun has sunk below the near ridge of western hills (half an hour, I fancy,

before it sets on the plain), the whole snowy range glows, almost *burns*, with a coppery light, as if from burnished metal, varying sometimes to a semi-transparent tinge like the opal; and, as the sun departs, assuming a perfect rose-coloured blush, until the last ray is gone, and then there comes a deadly paleness over all. Last night was full moon, and I have only two or three times in my life witnessed anything that gave me so much the idea of another world; of scenery belonging altogether to some different class of existence. I had sat in the little balcony, gazing at such a sunset as I have tried to describe, until the stars to the west and north shone forth, and then I turned east and saw the round yellow moon just rising above the low swelling hills, and lighting up the valley of Nepaul. As it rose higher, it assumed the silvery tint that it never has near the horizon; the sky to the west became of a deep amethyst or sapphire colour, from which the silvery range of snow stood out, glittering and sparkling in parts, yet with general tender subdued nun-like aspect that I cannot describe. The scene called up the same feelings that I have had at sea, when

The moon did with delight
Look round her, when the heavens were bare.

Sometimes in the morning here I observe bars or curtains of mist rise gradually and horizontally up the side of the hill, the edge as regular as a roller-blind. After rain, when the clouds are dispersing, and parts of the landscape are particularly clear, there are often left on the hill-sides patches of white mist, as well defined as a wad of cotton laid on the table. Again, sometimes a gauzy film of vapour sweeps past us, veiling every object for a few minutes, and then away. Looking down on the valley below, and the sides of the hills around, the clouds have exactly the forms and changes that I have noticed in the plains, when looking up at the sky.

October 1845. — Cleanliness is a prevailing feature of many Nepaul customs; others are unspeakably filthy. Even the cleanest and most luxurious Native here, or, I fancy, anywhere in India, has no idea of cleanliness in the clothes that

touch the skin, and bed-linen is a thing unknown. Once in a bed made up for me at the Putilah Rajah's garden-house at Pinjore, there was a sheet, tied with silk cord and tassels, for me to lie on. But at Lucknow I saw his Oudh Majesty's bed, which seemed just as he left it that morning, with nothing but silk mattress, pillows, and resai; and this, I believe, is the usual way, from the bearer, who rolls round him the coarse chintz wadded coverlids, to the king, whose resai is of Benares kinkab. So with under-clothes. During the hot season all classes wear white, and the "muslined millions" look elegantly clean; but during the cold season I never saw a symptom of anything washable under the wadded, woollen, or silken warm clothes. Matabur Sing used to wear a brocade vest; our servants wear their wadded clipkuns, sometimes putting a white muslin one over, by way of being clean. Luckily, the majority of Natives crop or shave their heads, and in the plains they bathe where they can. But I dare not even imagine what may dwell within the long flowing locks of the Pathans and the Sikhs. As to the hill people, they never wash, I believe. When they become the happy possessors of any piece of dress, they wear it till it drops off. Yet these people have their cooking-vessels polished and scrubbed in a way that few gentlemen's kitchens at home could match; clean their teeth diligently every morning, and never eat or smoke without washing hands and mouth before and after. Strange that a man who will sweep his house diligently, scrub and polish his hookah and talc till you might almost see your face therein, and wash his hands, does not mind living surrounded by filth and stench, and will contentedly lay his head on a pillow almost rotten with accumulated filth.

In the following month Mrs. Lawrence left for England. Her husband accompanied her as far as Calcutta, but soon returned to his post.

In this mountain seclusion of Nepaul, and during this cessation from the active duties which had employed and were to employ so much of his life, Henry Lawrence seriously turned his mind, as we have seen,

to literary occupation. I cannot give a brief account of this part of his career in more appropriate words than those of Mr., now Sir John Kaye, who was united to Sir Henry both by the bonds of strong personal friendship and also by those which subsist between editor and contributor; for at this period, and for some years, Mr. Kaye conducted the Review in question:—

So Henry Lawrence, at this period of his career, had more time professionally unoccupied than at any other. That he would turn it to good account one way or another was certain. The way was soon determined by an accident. It had occurred to me, then residing in Calcutta, to establish a review, similar in form and character to the *Edinburgh*, the *Quarterly*, and the *Westminster Reviews*, but devoted entirely to Indian subjects and questions. It was a bold and seemingly a hopeless experiment, and I expected that it would last out a few numbers and then die, leaving me perhaps a poorer man than before. Its success astonished no one more than myself. That it did succeed is, in no small measure, attributable to the strenuous support of Henry Lawrence. It was precisely the organ for which he had long been wishing as a vehicle for the expression of his thoughts; and perhaps his kindly heart was moved to take a stronger interest in it by the fact that it was the project, and under the peculiar care, of one who had once been a brother-officer in the same distinguished corps, though at that time we had never met. As soon as he heard of my intention to start the *Calcutta Review*, he promised to contribute to every number. The first number was too far advanced for me to avail myself of his aid. . . .

. . . After this Lawrence's contributions became more numerous. He generally furnished two or three papers to each number of the *Review*. His fertility, indeed, was marvellous. I have a letter before me, in which he undertook to supply to one number four articles, comprising a hundred and ten pages. His contributions were gravid with matter of the best kind—important facts accompanied by

weighty opinions and wise suggestions. But he was always deplored, and not without reason, his want of literary skill. This want would have been a sore trial to an editor, if it had not been accompanied by the self-knowledge of which I have spoken. There was, indeed, a charming candour and modesty about him as a writer: an utter absence of vanity, opinionativeness, and sensitive egotism about small things. He was eager in his exhortations to the editor to "cut and prune." He tried hard to improve his style, and wrote that with this object, he had been reading Macaulay's Essays, and studying Lindley Murray. On one occasion, but one only, he was vexed by the manner in which the editorial authority had been exercised. In an article on the "Military Defence of our Indian Empire," which, seen by the light of subsequent events, has quite a flush of prophecy upon it, he had insisted, more strongly than the editor liked at the time, on the duty of a government being at all times prepared for war. Certain events, then painfully fresh in the public mind, had given the editor somewhat ultra-pacific tendencies, and in the course of the correspondence he must have expressed his opinions over strongly, by applying the epithet "abominable" to certain doctrines which Lawrence held more in favour. "When you know me better," he wrote in reply, "you will not think that I can advocate anything abominable." And nothing was more true. The contributor was right, and the editor was wrong. He continued to the end of his life to contribute at intervals to this publication, and was, when the rebellion of 1857 broke out, employed on a review of the *Life of Sir John Malcolm*, which he never lived to complete.

In his literary labours at this time Henry Lawrence was greatly assisted by his admirable wife, who not only aided him in the collection and arrangement of such of his facts as he culled from books, and often helped him to put his sentences in order, but sometimes wrote articles of her own, distinguished by no little literary ability, but still more valuable for the good womanly feeling that imbued them. Ever earnest in her desire to promote the welfare of others, she strove to incite her country-women in India to higher aims,

and to stimulate them to larger activities. In her writings, indeed, she generally appealed to her own sex, with a winning tenderness and charity, as one knowing well the besetting weaknesses of humanity, and the especial temptations to indolence and self-indulgence in such a country as India. And so, when not interrupted by ill health, as sometimes happened, these two worked on happily together in their Nepaul home; and seldom or never did a week pass without bringing me, as I laboured on in Calcutta, a bulky packet of manuscript from one or other, or both.—*Lives of Indian Officers*, ii. 290.

The following list of articles furnished by Sir Henry and Lady Lawrence to the *Calcutta Review* is stated to be correct, but I do not believe it complete:—

No.	Art.	Military Defence of our Indian Empire.
3	5	The Seikhs and their Country..
4	4	Kashmir and the Countries around the Indus.
6	5	The Kingdom of Oude.
7	4	Englishwomen in Hindostan (Lady Lawrence).
8	7	Mahratta History and Empire.
10	4	Countries beyond the Sutlej and Jumna.
11	5	Indian Army.
13	5	Army Reform.
16	6	Lord Hardinge's Administration.
18	6	Major Smyth's Reigning Family of Lahore.
43		Sir Charles Napier's Posthumous Work.

Six of these are published in the volume entitled, *Essays, Military and Political, written in India, by Sir Henry Lawrence*, but the dates given do not exactly correspond with the above table.

The following specimen may suffice of his own judgments—the careless judgments of an accomplished literary soldier—on portions of his own miscellaneous reading:—

Extract from Nepaul Journal, September 1846.

I have been reading desultorily *Herodotus*, *Demosthenes*, Müller's *Dorians*, old *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews*, *Letters from the Baltic*, *History of the Jews*, Paley. Struck with the extraordinary variety of opinion as to historians in different numbers of reviews, especially *Edinburgh*. In one *Herodotus* is a child, in another wholly trustworthy. One makes Xenophon an imbecile, another a sage. The *Edinburgh*, more temperate than the *Quarterly*, which again is often out of keeping; one number makes Hallam, the historian, all that is untrustworthy, another excellent. I don't like Milman's *History of the Jews*, it is not written in the spirit that might be expected of a churchman of his character. *Letters from the Baltic*, interesting. Paley is a better writer than I thought, most clear and lucid, too cool, too unenthusiastic, but most argumentative, and a writer of excellent English.

The next special subject to be noticed in recounting this tranquil portion of Sir H. Lawrence's life is his connection with the scheme, or rather series of schemes, which culminated in the foundation of the now famous institution of the "Lawrence Asylum." I subjoin the first letters in which he propounded the outlines of this great project to the Indian Government, and add to them a fragment with which Lady Edwardes, Sir Herbert's widow, has kindly furnished me, carrying on, as far as necessary, her husband's unfinished work as regards this subject, in which Sir Herbert took an interest scarcely exceeded by that of his friend Lawrence himself. Could I have found space to treat it more at length, I should have had, first, to show the great pecuniary sacrifice at which Sir Henry, at no period of his life a rich man, devoted his own means as well as his time to this child of his devotion; and, next, the endless difficulties and hin-

drances which he had to deal with and surmounted. " You will see," says Lord Lawrence, sending to Sir Edward some correspondence relating to the early stages of the business, " that even Lord Hardinge deprecated the scheme." All this reads strangely, when we know that there are now (January 1868) full five hundred boys and girls getting a good training, in a fine climate, and altogether promising to turn out useful members of society. Of a certainty Henry's good deeds live after him. The asylum has proved an untold blessing to the British soldier's orphan in India.

To COLONEL STUART, Secretary to Government Military Department.

Nepaul Residency, July 22, 1845.

SIR,—Having projected the formation of an establishment in the N.W. hills for the education of the children (especially the daughters) of European soldiers, I have the honour to request that you will lay before the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council the enclosed circular, with my request for the sanction of Government, and that of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, to my circulating copies of the document among the several regiments of her Majesty's and the Honourable Company's troops on the Bengal Establishment.

2. I further beg the favourable consideration of Government to the following points :—

1st.—That, in whatever portion of the hills the establishment may be fixed, the under-mentioned officers belonging to the nearest stations or depôts may be declared to be the Government members of the Committee of Management, to be associated with five residents or visitors, the latter being selected by the subscribers to the funds of the institution :—The Commanding Officer, the Station Staff, the Chaplain, the Magistrate, the Civil Surgeon.

2nd.—That Government will permit the Committee to select from the ranks of the Army two married soldiers as

teachers and superintendents for the first hundred scholars, and an additional teacher for every hundred after the first ; granting to these men the regimental pay of their rank with claim to pension. All extra salary to be paid by the Committee.

3rd.—That the present allowance to which European children are entitled be continued.

4th.—That such portions of surplus canteen funds as are appropriated to the instruction of regimental children shall go with them to the Asylum, rateably to the number of children—that is, if 100 rupees is yearly appropriated to the education of 100 children, and twenty of the latter are taken, that the canteen fund pay that number of rupees yearly to the Asylum Committee.

3. I offer no apology for thus intruding on the Governor-General in Council, because I know that both the Honourable the Court of Directors and the Government of India are desirous to forward all measures for the amelioration of the condition of any portion of their troops. It may, however, be necessary for me to state that my proposal is no sudden freak of wild enthusiasm, but the sober result of long acquaintance with the condition of barrack children, and of the especial degradation of girls. In the year 1842 I was for a single month in civil charge of Mussourie ; had I remained I should have established a small European charity-school there. When in charge of Amballa, as soon as the Kussowlie Hill was brought within my jurisdiction, I proposed to Mr. Clerk the establishment of a European free school there. He entirely approved of the suggestion, but his illness and my own departure frustrated that scheme. I mention these points to show that I have long considered the subject.

4. I may now explain how the scheme got into the papers before I had procured the sanction of Government. During my brief charge of Mussourie, I visited Mr. Mackinnon's school, where I was much struck with the robust, active appearance of the pupils, as well as with that gentleman's management, and with the energy, ability, and good feeling displayed by him on all questions. On my arrival here, more

than a year ago, I wrote to him, asking what he thought of a Hill military asylum, to which I said that I would give a donation and monthly subscription. My letter was altogether private, but he being the editor of a small weekly journal (since defunct), alluded in one of his issues to my proposal. Some time after, the editor of the *Delhi Gazette* called upon the person who had made the offer to communicate with him, as he would gladly lend his influence to promote the establishment of an asylum. Being anxious to elicit the feeling of the English community, and show Government what support the scheme was likely to obtain, I then wrote two letters, under the signature of "H.," explaining my views. They drew forth some correspondence containing many good suggestions, and procured several donations and subscriptions, as well as some letters, showing that many warrant-officers are anxious for the establishment of an asylum, and willing to pay for the education of their children.

5. I calculate that, under good management, each child will not cost above 10 rupees per month; as soon, therefore, as Government sanction is obtained, a commencement may be made with the subscriptions and donations already registered. I have, however, little doubt that, as soon as the institution is fairly set on foot, many persons who have hitherto held back will come forward in its support. I have purposely refrained from drawing up any definite scheme of management, being desirous that, in the framing of rules, the institution should have the advantage of the judgment of the committee. In the course of three months all could be arranged by epistolary intercommunication; and next February the institution may be started.

6. Attached is an extract from a letter lately received from Mr. Mackinnon on the subject. I have, as suggested by him, addressed Major Smith and Dr. McAndrew.

I have the honour to be, &c.

H. M. LAWRENCE, Resident.

MY DEAR COLONEL,—

Nepaul, 23rd July, 1845.

MAY I beg the favour of your support to my project of a Hill School, which I have this day officially forwarded to

you. I have long had the scheme at heart, as likely to materially benefit the children of European soldiers. My first wish was to see the Calcutta Orphan Schools removed to the hills; and about this time last year I wrote officially to the Secretary, offering 5,000 rupees towards assisting the movement of part or all of the institution; but my offer was declined. I hope to have better luck in advocating an establishment for the reception of *all* European children, of both services.

Believe me, &c.

(Signed) H. M. LAWRENCE.

Colonel Stuart, Military Secretary.

Circular to be sent to the Commanding Officers of all her Majesty's and the Honourable Company's regiments, brigades, and battalions, on the Bengal Establishment:—

1. Government has sanctioned the formation of an asylum in the North-west Hills for the education of soldiers' children, the locality to be hereafter determined.

2. Several gentlemen have come forward with subscriptions and donations; but, unless supported by the army generally, the scheme must fail. I will give a donation of five thousand rupees (5,000), and a yearly subscription of one thousand (1,000), as long as I am in India, and drawing a salary equal to that which I now receive. My money (5,500), including half-a-year's subscription *in advance*, shall be lodged in the Delhi Bank by the 1st January next, and I request that all subscribers and donors will lodge their contributions by that date, so that operations may commence early next year. Including the above, I calculate that 8,000 rupees donations and 2,000 rupees annual subscriptions have already been registered; when 2,000 rupees is added to the donations, and the annual subscriptions are doubled, giving us 10,000 rupees in hand, and a clear income of 4,000 rupees per annum, the establishment may be started with fifty pupils—twenty-five orphans, and as many children whose parents can pay for them, being at once admitted.

3. One with another, according to the annexed scale, and including the present Government allowance to children, I

calculate that those who pay will cost the institution very little extra; and that, after a fair start has been made, the expense of each free scholar will not average above 10 rupees per month, or seven in excess of the Government allowance. The number of the first class, then, can be indefinitely increased, and need be limited only by the extent of premises; but the amount of aid given to orphans must entirely depend on the support the institution receives from the public generally, and especially from the military of all ranks.

4. As many misconceptions appear to be afloat, I may remark, that I do not design the institution should be restricted to any particular division of Christians, or to any one arm of the service. I propose that *all* children, the offspring of European father and European mother, both of her Majesty's and the Honourable Company's army, whether Catholic or Protestant, be eligible for admittance; that the number of vacancies for the ensuing year be declared early in the previous September, and be allotted to regiments, brigades, and battalions, in proportion to their subscriptions, as per Explanatory Table No. 1.

5. Different hill stations have been suggested for the site of the institution. It, however, appears to me that the asylum should be in the vicinity of one of the established sanatoria, both that the public should be able to visit and inspect the establishment and for the advantage of medical aid. A low site, about 5,500 feet high, somewhere in the rear of the centre of Mussourie would, I consider, combine most advantages as a retired position, suitable to all seasons, and within reach of local authorities.

6. The establishment to commence with a girls' asylum, to the extent of 100 orphans in excess of paying children; and then, according to the extent of funds in hand, a boys' establishment to be commenced on, within a reasonable distance of the female asylum. I wish the girls' department to be based on the same principle as the Calcutta Female Orphan Institution, with the economical modifications that may be found practicable in a cold climate. The boys' establishment to be on the strictest system of economy that will educate them as useful members of society.

7. It is proposed that the locality shall be decided by the votes of the majority of Subscribers. A donation of 100 rupees, or a subscription of 2 rupees monthly, entitling to one vote. Donors of 500 rupees, or subscribers of 5 rupees monthly, to have two votes. No one person to have more than two votes. Regiments to vote collectively; sixteen subscriptions of 2 annas entitling to two votes, according to Table No. 1.

8. A code of rules for the management of the asylum, embracing all internal arrangements, to be drawn up by a committee of eleven, five of whom to be appointed by Government, and six to be elected by the majority of votes. This committee to have full power over the funds, &c. &c., for two years, when a new election to take place.

9. The committee to form a code of rules for the management of the institution, which might be easily effected in the following manner: Let each member commit to paper his suggestions, *in detail*, and vote that one particular member should draw up the code; in whatever member's favour the majority of votes appear, let him be furnished with the recorded suggestions of all the other members, and, with their aid, draw up a full and minute code. This document might then be circulated to members for their remarks, and, after final revision by the preparer, be submitted to Government for approbation. The code having once obtained Government sanction, should be declared the law of the asylum.

10. Should any of the six members of the committee elected by subscribers be non-residents of the sanatorium, each individual should have the option of nominating his substitute from among the residents or visitors of the station.

11. To prevent delay, it is requested that the enclosed tables, after being filled up, may be returned to Major Lawrence, who will collect the votes, report the result to subscribers, and communicate with the gentlemen nominated as a committee. Speed is entreated, so that a commencement may be made before next hot weather.

Memorandum by LADY EDWARDES.

In the repose at Nepaul was planned and matured the scheme that first gave the English soldiers' children a Home in the Hills of India, and rescued them from the heat and danger (both physical and moral) of barrack-life in the plains. Up-hill and with difficulty the first effort was made; but it resulted in the "Lawrence Asylum at Sanawur," which was endowed, and very largely supported through life by Sir Henry; and was left in loving legacy in his will at last, commended to the care of the Government that he had served so well, and that he died in the defence of.

And nobly has this request been responded to! and Government has taken upon itself the charge; and so fruitful has been this scheme of noble charity, devised by these two kind and loving hearts, resting in their weariness at Nepaul, that, not only at Sanawur, but also at Murree, Mount Aboo, and Ootacamund, and in the Neilgherry Hills, stand now these noble Institutions—"Lawrence Asylums"—which will serve to keep Sir Henry Lawrence's name alive in the memories and hearts of his countrymen in India, when perhaps other deeds, that won more honour from the world, may be forgotten.

E. E.

The following is also a rough draft of a proposal to start the first Lawrence Asylum, drawn up by Sir Herbert (then Lieutenant) Edwardes, 1847:—

The funds of the proposed Hill Asylum for the children of European soldiers having now accumulated into a sum sufficient to start the institution, the requisite building will be begun so soon as the rains are over. Mussourie being thought too far away from any European station, a site near the Fir Tree Bungalow, between Soobathoo and Kerowlee, will most probably be selected. This will bring the schools within an easy walk of both those stations, and enable the European soldiers to judge for their comrades, and their comrades to judge for them, of the nature and working of the institution, and the education and treatment received by their children. The buildings will, it is confidently hoped, be

completed, and the schools opened, in January 1847. The principles on which the education will be conducted have already been explained in the public report of the meeting held in camp at Lahore; and, in spite of the attempts that have been made to misrepresent that report, it is known to the soldiers that the religious instruction of their children will be entirely dependent on the wishes of the parents; i.e. the Bible—the common text-book of Christians of all denominations—will be read in open school by all the children, but not commented on. It is in commentaries on the Bible that sects take their rise; and different Churches are the result of different inferences drawn from the same passages of Holy Writ. In the Hill Asylum, therefore, whose sole object is to do good to the soldier's child, the Bible will be read; but inferences will be left to the consciences, and commentaries to the priest or clergyman, whom Catholics and Protestants permit to be their children's spiritual guides. It is requested, therefore, that those fathers who have maturely considered these things, and weighed the advantages of obtaining a superior education for their children, now that the liberality of the Court of Directors has thrown open commissions to the European children, will put down upon this paper the number and names of the children they propose to send to the asylum.

From Sir H. LAWRENCE to the Rev. J. PARKER.

Mount Aboo, July 1st, (1854?)
(Year not given.)

MY DEAR MR. PARKER,—

. . . . In the history I would dwell on the barrack life of children, and show the number rescued from barracks, stating also that we have never forgotten that our original object was to get children from barracks, but that their parents have less appreciated the boon than warrant and other officers. At Aboo our proportion of barrack children is scarcely one fifth, and though we have a European regiment with 153 children in it, we have only seven of them. First thoughts as far as I can recollect were on my return from Cabul in December 1842, on finding myself appointed super-

intendent of the Dhoon, with charge of Mussourie. My reign, however, there was only for a month, when I returned for a year to the Sikh States. That year was one of so much toil that I had no time to think of extra work, and in December 1843, I was moved to Nepaul. During 1844 and 1845 we corresponded with several persons interested in the matter. Mr. Thomason, I think, was the first, and was at least the one on whom I most depended, but his response was cooler than I expected. He said there was already an asylum in Calcutta, the "European Female," &c. He, General Parsons, Mr. Martin Gubbins, C.S., Mr. Atherton, C.S., and others gave liberal donations or subscriptions, but many to whom we wrote gave no answer. About July, 1845, I offered the managers of the Upper and Lower Orphan School some pecuniary help if they would move to a Hill Station. I got a cool answer to the effect that the scheme was impracticable. I then wrote officially to Government, suggesting an asylum; after some months I received an official reply, sending me the opinions of the officers commanding artillery regiments, and the two European regiments, with a few lines to the effect that I would perceive that my plan was not feasible. I saw nothing of the kind. The commandant of artillery's letter was favourable, and one of the others was little less so; the writer of the third said he could not give an opinion. He might have said, with the writer of the Government letter to me, that he did not care to trouble himself in the matter.

Such was the state of affairs when I joined the army of the Sutlej in 1845. In March of that year, a few days after the army had reached Lahore, Sir Hugh (Lord) Gough kindly consented to attend a meeting at which Sir Henry Smith, Colonel (now General) Grant, Colonel Havelock, Colonel Birch, Lieutenant (now Colonel) H. Edwardes, and other officers were present. At that meeting, at my request, many more commissioned officers of all persuasions attended. I explained my views and wishes. That the asylum was for *all* soldiers' children, and especially for those in the barracks. That the Bible must be read by *all*, and Bible instruction be

given to all; but that Romanists and Dissenters might be instructed by their own pastors, on fixed days, and under fixed arrangements.

Officers and soldiers were generally satisfied, the only dissent was from Sir Harry Smith, who proposed a division of the fund, and the establishment of two asylums. I replied, that he could establish a Roman Catholic Asylum if he liked, but I could not consent to the appropriation of any portion of the funds collected by me to any institution but *one*. Finally, he gave in to the rules as published.

Colonel Edwardos thinks that I yielded Rule —— to Sir Harry Smith's outcry, but I am sure this is a mistake, and believe I took the rules in rough to the meeting, and that there was no substantial alteration made. The proceedings of that meeting are probably among the asylum records. My idea was then still for Mussourie. The result of the meeting was a good collection. . . I forget whether it was on the day of parting that March (1846), or in March 1847, that I asked Lord Hardinge for Government help, and he kindly promised all that was eventually given. It was at 4 A.M., on taking leave of him at the Ghât of the Byas River, in March 1846, *I am pretty sure.*

During the hot weather, about August 1846, in company with Colonel Boileau, of the Engineers, and, I think, Lieutenant (now Major) Bocher of the Engineers, and Lieutenant Hodson of the Fusiliers, I searched for a site around Kussowlee, and on the Fir Tree Ridge in the old road to Soobathoo. My object being to have the asylum within my own jurisdiction, the cis-Sutlej States being under me as resident at Lahore; Mussourie was not so. We nearly fixed on a spur of the Kussowlee Hill, but eventually selected the Hill of Sanâwur as combining most of the requisites for an asylum, viz. isolation, with ample space, and plenty of water, at a good height, in a healthy locality not far from European troops. The selection was most fortunate, and I doubt not I owe it to my companions.

In November of that year, 1846, Maharajah Goolab Sing offered me a lakh of rupees for the asylum. I told him that

if he still wished to give the money after an interval of a twelvemonth, to inform me by letter, and I would ask for Government sanction. Two or three times within the year the offer was repeated, and eventually I asked and obtained sanction. The money was at once funded, and still remains so. It is our only capital.

As soon as the site was fixed, the buildings were commenced. Lieutenant Hodson took much trouble with them. In March 1847, the asylum was opened under the charge of Mrs. George Lawrence, wife of Colonel George Lawrence, with about twenty children, seventeen of them having been sent from Lahore by me; eight of them being Roman Catholics. Mrs. Lawrence very successfully superintended the asylum till the cold weather of 1847. An apothecary in the service, Mr. Healy, had been selected as medical officer and assistant master. He aided Mrs. Lawrence, and on her departure remained in full charge till the arrival of the Rev. Mr. Parker, in February 1848.

During the year 1846-7, Mrs. Henry (Lady) Lawrence advertised for masters and a governess. After much correspondence, and many personal interviews with parties desiring employment, as also with persons interested in education, she selected Mr. William Parker, who had been recommended to her by Mr. Tufnell, as superintendent of the asylum, and resolved for the present not to send out a governess or matron. Mr. Parker had many interviews with Lady Lawrence, and eventually embarked with his family, and reached Calcutta in December, meeting Colonel H. (Sir Henry) Lawrence there on his way to England. Mr. Parker was ordained by the Bishop of Calcutta, and started for his inland journey to Sanawur.

During 1848, Sir H. Lawrence selected a gentleman as second master, also a pupil-teacher and a matron, both of whom reached India with him and Lady Lawrence in December 1848. Though the matron had been recommended as *the one fitting person* in a large training establishment in London, she evinced so little fitness that it was thought advisable to give her 80/- to go back from Bombay. The second master

joined the asylum, but soon became dissatisfied, and left. The pupil-teacher, William Halifax, was a first-rate instructor, worked his time, and a farther term, and then took his discharge.

The success of the asylum is mainly, if not entirely, owing to two persons; indirectly to Lady Lawrence, directly to Mr. Parker—to the first for selecting the second. Her task was no slight one, undertaken and carried out in very weak health. His has been before our eyes for eight years, and its result is in the well-being of the asylum with its many inmates.

On Sir H. M. Lawrence leaving the Punjab, Maharajah Goolab Sing, instead of joining the testimonial to him, sent 25,000 rupees to his successor for the asylum; this occurred two or three months after his departure.

In 1850, Sir H. and Lady Lawrence remained a fortnight on the asylum premises, and again stayed there for two months in the autumn of 1851, daily looking into all departments of the institution, and testing its working in all branches. Lady Lawrence during these visits daily talked to the girls, and evinced a mother's interest in their welfare. Being unable to walk among them, they would flock around her litter and watch for its coming down to their play-ground. I have sat up till past twelve to write this letter, which gives pretty much all I can say. If you desire more, pray send me questions, which shall be promptly answered. The less said in the history about me the better, but give the credit due to my brothers George and John, to Edwardes, Hodson, and others, who from the beginning have helped us, and without ostentation have (my brothers) kept up a warm interest.

H. M. L.

* * * * *

How this first Lawrence Asylum flourished, and grew into the noble institution it now is, and how, like an elder sister, it led on many others afterwards by its good example, all India can tell. A few words written

in April 1857, by the hand that traced these first chapters, give a glimpse of it then still under the superintendence of its first principal.

The accompanying sketch shows its beautiful position among the first ranges of Himalayan mountains, and has an appropriate interest as being taken from Kussowlee, the place where Lady Lawrence spent so much of the anxious time that she waited for her husband's return from Cabul. Dear, beautiful Kussowlee!

From SIR HERBERT EDWARDES, writing to LADY EDWARDES.

25th April 1857.

. . . With the asylum I was quite delighted. It has expanded into a perfect parish, clustering round a most English-looking church. The discipline and order of the whole institution are very remarkable, as well as the health and strength of the boys and girls. Above all, I was pleased with Mr. Parker. His universal ability is exhibited at every turn. He has both planned and executed everything. The children evidently regard him with that mingling of confidence and fear which is inspired by a really good school-master.

. . . Mr. Parker told me that the Romish priest's congregation had dwindled to two children, at which point the priest abandoned the institution and retired to Agra, whence the bishop has since fulminated a sentence of condemnation. . . .

* * * * *

A few papers follow, written by Sir Henry Lawrence, at different dates, when another asylum was being planned for Mount Aboo, in Rajpootana, before Sir Henry Lawrence left it for Oudh, in 1857 :—

Mount Aboo, November 26th, 1856.

. . . The thanks of the Committee are due to Mr. and Mrs. Clifford, and to Mr. Legh for the progress and well-being of the children and for their own zeal and kindness.

Being about to proceed to the Plains, I now record my often-expressed opinion that the chief defect in the school is a defect in bodily energy in the children. I wish each boy to learn the use of his hands at some trade, I don't care what it is. Let him cobble, carpenter, tailor, or smith. This should be apart from telegraph survey, printing, or gardening work.

Boys must be taught not to be ashamed to put their hands to anything ; to consider labour as honourable, and to see the advantage to themselves of being handy.

There should be no loitering in the verandahs or within doors in the morning and evening ; running, jumping, climbing, &c., should be encouraged. The boys, and indeed the girls, should be occasionally taken across country, and occasionally to break the monotony of their walk by running races, double quick, &c. &c.

Referring to to-day's distribution of prizes, I wish the dullest child to be made to understand that a prize may be obtained by industry and good conduct. Every one that tries, whether he or she succeeds or not, shall get a prize next year.

H. M. LAWRENCE.

To LIEUTENANT-COLONEL MILLER, Artillery, Secretary to the Ootacamund School, &c.

Camp Neenuck, January 20th, 1857.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge this day the receipt of your letter of the 27th ultimo, and regret very much the views of your Committee. *From the outset all* the children at the Lawrence Asylum have read the Bible. Of the first batch of children sent to the asylum from Lahore by me in 1847 seven or eight out of about sixteen were Roman Catholics, whose parents *were distinctly told* by myself that *all children* admitted to the asylum must read the Bible. *Not one* parent objected. It is quite true that the proportions of Roman Catholics have since greatly decreased, and that there are now few in the asylum, but this is attributable to the priests, and *not* to parents. I have no desire to force the consciences of Roman Catholics. Indeed, I do not desire

that disputed points of Scripture be mooted in the schools, but that such portions be read in common as Protestants and Roman Catholics acknowledge. Rule 27 protects Roman Catholics from Rule 29 being *offensively used*, while Rules 28, 30, and 31 provide for the special separate instructions of Roman Catholics by their own pastors. As a Protestant I cannot concede more, and in yielding this much I give offence to many excellent Christians who are urging me to cancel 27, 28, 30, and 31. Were I to agree to cancel 29, I should be acting in opposition to the principles that have guided me in the establishment for soldiers' children.

I beg, then, it be understood that my donations and subscriptions will depend on the authorized version of the Bible being read in open school in the school, in the spirit of Rule 27. Trusting that this explanation will prove satisfactory, and that the schools will be established at Ootacamund, and begging you will thank the Committee for their kind and friendly expressions, I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

H. M. LAWRENCE.

Here Lady Edwardes's paper concludes.

One of the last memoranda in Sir H. Lawrence's Nepaul Journal relates his attendance at a ceremony which has now, happily, become matter of past history, not only in British India, but throughout the Native States, excepting when an instance occasionally occurs in some dark and unfrequented corner, which, if reported, is always visited with the severest reprobation within the power of Government. And the condemnation thus passed on the practice has gradually, we may hope, revived the sentiments long expressed in the better part of the Hindoo devotional literature. "They are not suttees who perish in the flames, O Nanuk! Suttees are those who die of a broken heart. (Ades Grunth.)"

November 5, 1845.—I have just returned from a Suttee; after twenty years' residence in India this is the first I have seen. A terrible sight, but less so than I expected. The woman was cool and collected, and evidently under no sort of coercion. The corpse was that of a Goorkha commandant; it was laid on a small platform, raised on six or eight stakes driven into an island, eight or nine feet square, in the bed of the Bagmutty. The platform had a double bottom; between the two was laid wood, resin, and ghee; the corner stakes met above, forming a rude canopy. About a hundred spectators, chiefly beggars and old women, were collected to view the spectacle. Ten or twelve Sepoys, and as many Brahmins, were assisting around the pile. When Dr. Christie and I arrived, the woman was inside a small (open) rattee close to the river, apparently dressing; we could just see her tinsel head-dress. In about five minutes she came out mounted on the back of a man. At the edge of the rattee her carrier stopped, and she, dipping her finger in a platter, took red dye stuff and made teekas on the foreheads of some of the assistants. He then carried her to the pile, and round it four or five times, during which time she took rice and spices from a platter and threw it to the people around, who held out their hands, and many their sheets, to catch it; others begged for alnis and her ornaments. Two or three tomtoms were all the time being beat. After finishing the circuits she dismounted, stooped, and washed her hands in the river, and then uncovered her husband's feet, placed her head to them, and kissed them. She then ascended the pile, made more distributions of rice, &c., and some pice, and commenced disrobing herself, taking off her tiara and upper coloured silks, and gave them to persons around. She then sat down and took off her armlets and bracelets and gave them. All this took at least a quarter of an hour, during which time she was as composed as at a festival. She then lay down close behind the corpse, her head close to her husband's. The platform was so narrow that she had to be squeezed between the corpse and the stakes on her side. Her hair throughout was loose, hanging over her shoulder; she

was a Goorkha, about thirty-five or forty years old. When laid down the coloured sheet over her husband was drawn so as to cover her too, and then three strong bamboos were placed across the pair, and each held at either end by a man so as to prevent her rising. They did not press on her, but would have effectually kept her down had she struggled. Over these bamboos some loose faggots were thrown, and then two lighted lamp-wicks were placed on the head of the corpse, and a minute after a torch was applied under the platform close to the heads, when a strong flame broke out; the crowd shouted and the temtoms beat more loudly so as to have drowned any cry that may have been uttered by the victim; but whatever were her pains, they could not have lasted a minute. The fire was fed with ghee and sulphur, and a strong flame kept up so as in five minutes to have quite consumed all the head of the platform. I have seen the sad spectacle, and shall not willingly witness another. The old hags around me grinned with delight; ours were the only sad countenances. I saw two or three women near the victim who were probably relations, but such could not be known from their actions; all was utter unconcern.

In a few days more Lawrence received the summons which decided the course of his remaining life. The first Sikh war had broken out. The fiercely-contested action with which it commenced had excited an anxiety which our success at Ferozeshuhur, bravely as that field was won, had been insufficient to remove. "A battle" (in the words of Major Cunningham, the historian of the Sikhs) "had been won, and more than seventy pieces of artillery, and some conquered or confiscated territories, graced the success; but the victors had lost a seventh of their number; they were paralyzed after their prodigious exertions and intense excitement, and the Sikhs were allowed to cross the Sutlej at their leisure, to prepare for fresh contests."

Among the heaviest losses sustained by our army was that of Major Broadfoot, whose knowledge of the country and people rendered his services of the highest importance to Lord Hardinge. And it was especially to replace Major Broadfoot that Major Lawrence was now summoned in the following pressing letter from the Governor-General's Secretary, Mr. Currie:—³

Camp Ferozepoor, December 24, 1845.

MY DEAR LAWRENCE,—We have had some *very* hard fighting, as you will have hereafter; but our troops have been victorious in every engagement. . . .

Then follows an account of the battles of Moodkee and Ferozeshuhur.

This is a very imperfect notice of our operations. The engagements were very severe; our loss is heavy, and the bodies of the Khalsajee are strewed over miles of their territories.

But to the main purport of my letter. Broadfoot is killed, and you are required forthwith. You should make over charge to your assistant, who I conclude is still at Nepaul, and come *with all despatch* to this place. There will be a modification of late arrangements, and more direct control over departments here will be exercised by the Governor-General through my office than has hitherto been the case. But your position will be in all respects satisfactory to you, and the Punjab is before us. *Come quickly.* We have lost many valuable officers, and the Governor-General's staff has been much cut up. . . . Your corps has its full share of killed. . . . I have no time for more; lose no time in coming; you are a long way off.

F. CURRIE.

This was received by Lawrence at Gorakhpore (as Lady Lawrence reports) at 7 P.M., January 6th, and at

³ Now member of the Council of India.

3 P.M. next day "he was off." So his wife informs Mr. Clerk⁴ in the following letter, dated from Segowlee on her own way to Calcutta, whence she sailed for England, for the sake of her health and the care of her children, in February 1846, leaving him for the time to pursue his further destiny alone :—

MRS. LAWRENCE to GEORGE CLERK, Esq.

MY DEAR MR. CLERK,—

Segowlee, January 1846.

I WOULD not venture to obtrude my feminine politics on any public man but yourself, but I think you will do me the justice to believe that I only wish to transmit to you my husband's views—to say for him, what he now has no leisure to say for himself. If your health admits, I do hope we may be saying the same, and much more to yourself, before this can reach you, for we never think of a new province across the Sutlej without thinking of you as its governor.

You know how Lawrence always longed to be again on that frontier, but it is satisfactory now to feel that he never had a shade of grudge or jealousy on Major Broadfoot's appointment, and that they two corresponded on matters up there in the most cordial manner. Lawrence's first letter, offering Major Broadfoot all the help and information he could furnish, crossed one from the latter, asking for the same.

I believe Major Broadfoot's mother and sister, to whom he was everything, are still alive. When I go home I hope to see them, and add ours to the many testimonies they will have to his high character.

A soldier like him can be ill spared now. I forget when my husband last wrote to you, not, I think, since the appointment of Futteh Jung Chountra as minister. He is a timid, nervous creature, who seems to live with a drawn sword over his head, in every point a contrast to poor Matabur.

⁴ Sir H. Lawrence's early friend and adviser in India, often referred to in the first volumes; afterwards Governor of Bombay; now member of the Council of India.

The Chountra affects great simplicity, and even poverty, in his dress, &c., has a small sawarce, and very few soldiers and hangers-on about his gates. He always gets *a pain in his stomach* when he is summoned to Durbar, and feels afraid to go.

The man with real influence is Guggur Sing, now a general, originally a slave. He is, in appearance, like Matabur, and seems to have some of his *pluck*. According to report, he and the Maharanee carry everything their own way, the Chountra being afraid to act, and the young *Absalom* of a prince being very quiet for some months past, occasionally telling his papa that if he is not placed on the guddee he will go and turn Fakir at Kassee, and now and then putting an officer, who has been too obsequious to Guggur Sing, to stand all day in a pond.

Jung Bahadoor, Matabur's nephew, is likewise a general, and called commander-in-chief. He takes no very prominent part just now, and seems to spend his energies in devising new uniforms. But he is active and intelligent, and if (perhaps it would be more correct to say, *when*) there is another slaughter in the Durbar, the struggle will probably be between Jung Bahadoor and Guggur Sing.

The Maharajah goes on the same inexplicable way, apparently afraid of his son, yet putting him forward, and at the same time seeming to allow the Maharanee and Guggur Sing to be the virtual rulers of the country. Possibly he has heard of the Kilkenny cats. The Rajah never was so civil to Lawrence as for the last two or three months, when they met on the road, getting out of his palkee and walking with him—almost apologizing for Matabur's murder, saying he had warned the general and expostulated in vain, and that at last it was plain *both* could not live. When we left Nepaul last month we were allowed to come down by the Phirfung road, which no European ever before traversed, and is mentioned, I think, even by Kirkpatrick, as jealously guarded. For travellers it is a much better road than our old one by Chitlong, being admirably laid out, and as good as the road from Sabathoo to Simla. But it is full ten miles longer

than the Chitlong road, by which Lawrence says he would prefer leading a force. . . . You will, I am sure, like to know Lawrence's proceedings, and how aptly he was here, ready to be off at a day's warning to Ferozepoor. He had applied for leave from 15th November to 15th February to take me to Calcutta, making over charge to his assistant, Captain Ottley. Tim was to accompany me home. Our little *Nepaulee* son was to stay and take care of his papa. In October, however, Captain Ottley expressed his determination to go home, and Lawrence thereupon determined to accompany me only as far as Dinapoor. We left Nepaul on the 11th of December, and had a delightful march, made very slowly on account of my weakness, till we reached our own border at Kuksaol,⁵ on the 23rd of December. There we got the first tidings of the Sikh inroad. Lawrence galloped into Gorrukpoor to hear further particulars and meet Mr. Thomason for a day or two. On the 6th of January (the very day our troops marched from Cabul four years ago), we had made our arrangements; next morning I was to start for Dinapoor, my husband for Nepaul. At seven o'clock that evening he got a letter from Mr. Currie, summoning him to Ferozepoor, and at 8 P.M. next day he was off. I am waiting here now till his papers come from Nepaul, that I may sort and forward them to him. . . . Probably you have heard of the suspicions now awake regarding disaffection to a largo extent among our troops; indeed, the two (12th and 14th) regiments at Ferozepoor have proved that *they*, at least, are mutinous. Lawrence has had much correspondence from Patna, Benares, and other stations below Cawnpore regarding the intrigue having extended to Nepaul, and the whole of the 7th regiment of Cavalry here, Mussulmans almost to a man, being implicated. Captain Wheler knows the corps well, and does not so far see any ground for suspecting any of his men; but it is pretty certain that agents have been at work here, and that presents have been sent up from the Betish Rajah to Nepaul; and there are so many and extensive slight symptoms in many places that Lawrence and Captain Wheler think there is unusual activity in laying

trains to the powder-barrel to be found in every Native court and corps. Lawrence used to say that any inroad on our frontier would be too mad an act even for Ghorkhajee. But, after the Sikhs crossing the Sutlej, it is hard to say what would be too mad for any one to do; and an outbreak just now, when all below Cawnpore is stripped of troops, would at any rate cause much bloodshed and distress, end how it might. There was vast talk about the Rajah increasing the number of his regiments, but I fancy this has ended in the manufacture of 3,000 skullcaps for the soldiers already forthcoming,—at least *tulors* seemed more in request than officers at Nepaul. The Rajah has repeatedly offered 5,000 of his troops to aid us against the Sikhs, and Lawrence would be very glad if 500 of them were taken to serve with our army, as hostages for the troops at Nepaul. You know his opinion of that army, that they would be a formidable defensive force in their own strong country, but very insignificant invaders without either cavalry or guns (they have plenty of guns, but could not easily move them), and there is not a man of them who ever saw a shot fired; yet, really, people in the plains talk of the Nepaul horsemen just as of the Afghan. I wish you could have seen some of the riders, when Matabur insisted on the officers being mounted, and every bazaar in the neighbouring plains was ransacked for tattoos. It was formidable when we were out in the carriage of an evening, and met a few colonels and *Komadans* holding hard on their vicious brutes that utterly refused to obey the rein, squeezing almost against the carriage-wheels, while the rider, in a flurry of politeness and fright, kept, "Salam, Sahib, salam—nyaghora, sahib—bohut tez."

It would puzzle a professor of political economy to account for such a lying and murderous Durbar, such an inoffensive army, and such a prosperous, well-fed, well-clothed, well-lodged population, all crowded into that bit of a valley.

And now I will release you from this *essay*, entreating again that you will acquit me of the affectation of forming opinions of my own on points I know so little about. But I

* "Salam, sir, salam—a new horse—very fresh."

know you liked to hear my husband's notions, and these I can give pretty faithfully.

I expect to sail from Calcutta next month, probably in the Queen, taking our two boys with me. I should be delighted to see you in England, and, moreover, I am sure that, if you remain there, you will do me the same great kindness you did four years ago in keeping me apprised of what is going on. . . . I hope you are becoming very strong and well, to be Governor of the Punjab, and that your family are all as well as you could wish. Will you remember me most kindly to Mrs. Clerk, whom I hope to have the pleasure of meeting in England. How do your boys get on at Rugby? We have just been reading Dr. Arnold's Life, and I feel as if even the air of the place where that man lived and laboured must be good for a boy.

The last entry in Lawrence's Nepaul Journal thus sums up his experiences in the most tranquil chapter of his life :—

Segowlee, 7th January 1846.

Last evening, on my return from Molikaroe, I found a letter from Government calling me to the North-West. I wished for many reasons to delay a week, but I *ought* to go at once. I therefore wrote off three letters to lay bearers, and in half-an-hour (2.30 P.M.) I started after my palankeen, which went off two hours ago. We have had two most happy years here; and, amidst some discomforts, have had many blessings, and have enjoyed, and, I hope, have not envied others. We have gained some experience, and, I trust, will both be the better for our seclusion. My wife, my darling wife, will support herself, and believe that He who brought us together, and has kept us midst many dangers and many partings, can and will protect us still. May we both trust in our Saviour, and endeavour to show our trust by our conduct.

His "memorandum for Captain Wheler," to whom he handed over the acting administration of

the Residencyship, is brief and to the purpose. The following extracts may suffice :—

7th January 1846.

You will perceive that the object of Government is in no way to interfere with Nepaul domestic affairs, but simply to watch British interests. The Rajah and Minister are the only persons with whom you have official communication; you address the latter, and receive and talk to such persons as are sent by the Maharajah. Be civil to the Heir Apparent, and *all others*; but have no official, and as little as possible other communication with any but the Rajah and his Chief Minister. You probably will be tempted; be very civil, but very firm in holding aloof from others.

The Minister is respectable but timid; the real power is in the hands of General Guggur Sing and the Maharanee, whose attendant he is. He will most probably send to you: be civil to the messenger, but, as far as possible, only see him before the Assistant or Dr. ——. Let all that is said be before witnesses, or you are liable to be belied. . . .

The Rajah is suspicious, and full of intrigue: be patient and polite, but firm to him. Perfect coolness and apparent unconcern as to all that is going on is, perhaps, the wisest course.

Above all, remember that at all times *peace* is the object of Government; and that now especially it will be desirable. This can be best effected by the course above recommended.

The most fruitful sources of disturbance are women and cows. Warn your servants against offences; and, on your arrival, remind the Residency people of the orders regarding women.

I cannot close this chapter without adding one word on the manner in which both husband and wife found, in their distant political headquarters, leisure—and, what was more difficult, means—to attend to the demands of public liberality and private munificence. I certainly feel, for my own part, that the precept,

which rests at once on the highest authority and on the most sacred internal feelings, to abstain from all ostentation of charitable actions, has its obligation even beyond the grave. There is, in my judgment, something indecorous and unworthy in bringing prominently before the public the beneficent acts of one who, in his lifetime, would have shrunk from such display of them. Such deeds have their assured reward, but that reward is not to be found either in contemporary or posthumous fame. Nevertheless, I am sensible, also, that I should perform very imperfectly the office of delineating the entire character of Sir Henry Lawrence if I altogether omitted to dwell on this strongly-marked feature in it; for his charities were really not to be measured by the standard to which men are accustomed. They were, to speak plainly, extraordinary. We have seen how the time at Khatmandoo was used in founding the Lawrence Asylum. I have found accidentally among the mass of his papers an undated and unsigned memorandum of the amount of subscriptions which he gave in three years (they were those of his Punjab government, a little later than the time with which I am now dealing) to certain Calcutta charities. It was his habit to transmit these to Mr. Marshman, who has verified the paper for me. I subjoin the letter which Mr. Marshman has kindly written me in explanation of it:—

The memorandum is one that I sent him. He was one of the largest-hearted men it has been my happiness to know. When he was appointed Resident at Khatmandoo he immediately wrote to me to say that he was in the receipt of a larger income than he had ever enjoyed (I almost think his previous allowances in the military service had never exceeded

800 rupees a month), and that he considered it his first duty to do as much good with it as possible ; and he asked me to become his almoner to the various Christian and benevolent agencies in and around Calcutta. At the same time he promised to send me 1,000 rupees every quarter to be distributed among them ; and he continued the remittance without interruption until he accompanied Lord Hardinge to England. The memorandum is a portion of my periodical report to him of the various institutions which had benefited by his liberality.

1844.

Received from Lieut.-Colonel Lawrence	Co.'s Rupees.
	.... 2,000
Dr. McGowan's Hospital	300
The Serampore Native Hospital	200
The Free Church, Calcutta	300
The European Female Orphan Asylum	100
Mrs. Voigt, for the Poor	100
The Calcutta Auxiliary Baptist Missionary Society	100
The Bengal Auxiliary London Missionary Society	100
The Sailors' Home	150
The Christian Tract and Book Society	100
The Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society	100
The District Charitable Society	150
The Bible Association	100
The Fever Hospital	100
The Church Missionary Society	100—2,000

1845.

Received from Lieut.-Colonel Lawrence, first instalment of 1845	....	1,000
Ditto ditto second instalment of 1845	....	1,000
Ditto ditto third instalment of 1845	....	1,000
Ditto ditto fourth instalment of 1845	....	1,000
		4,000

The Free Church Institution ....	....	800
The Benevolent Institution, first three months of 1845	....	150
The Serampore Hospital ....	....	100
The Serampore Ladies' Benevolent Society ....	....	100
The District Charitable Society ....	....	150
The Serampore College ....	....	100
The Loodianah Press ....	....	100
Mrs. Wilson ....	....	300
The Serampore Ladies' Benevolent Society ....	....	100
The Benevolent Institution, second three months of 1845	....	150
The Serampore Ladies' Benevolent Society ....	....	100
The Benevolent Institution, third quarter of 1845	....	150
Subscription to Dr. Yate's Tablet	25—1,325
December 31, balance in hand	2,175
		4,000

MEMORANDUM OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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1846.

		Co.'s Rupees.
Balance in hand	2,175
Received from Lieut.-Colonel Lawrence, first instalment of 1846	1,000
		<u>3,175</u>

The Benevolent Institution, fourth quarter of 1846	....	150
The Serampore Ladies' Benevolent Society	....	100
The Bengal Auxiliary Baptist Missionary Society	....	100
The Serampore Ladies' Benevolent Society	....	100
The District Charitable Society	....	100
The Free Church Mission, Calcutta	....	200
The Benevolent Institution, first six months of 1846	....	150
The European Orphan Asylum	....	100
The Bengal Auxiliary London Missionary Society	....	100
The Bengal Auxiliary Baptist Missionary Society	....	100
The Church Missionary Society	....	100
The Irish Relief Fund	....	200—1,500

December 31, balance in hand	....	1,675
		<u>3,175</u>

1847.

Balance in hand	....	1,675
Received from Lieut.-Colonel Lawrence, second instalment of 1846	....	1,000
Ditto ditto first instalment of 1847	....	1,000
Ditto ditto second instalment of 1847	....	1,000
		<u>4,675</u>

The Benevolent Institution, second six months of 1846	....	150
The Calcutta Diocesan Clergy Society	....	100
The Benevolent Institution, first six months of 1847	....	150
The Serampore Hospital	....	100
The Serampore Ladies' Benevolent Society	....	150
The Serampore College	....	150
The Serampore Missionary Society	....	50
The Bengal Auxiliary Baptist Missionary Society	....	100
The District Charitable Society	....	100
The European Orphan Asylum	....	100
The Bengal Auxiliary London Missionary Society	....	100
The Church Missionary Society	....	100
The Christian Tract and Book Society	....	100
The Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society	....	100
The Bible Association	....	100
The Calcutta Christian School Book Society	....	100
The Benevolent Institution, second six months of 1847	....	150
The Serampore Ladies' Benevolent Society	....	100—2,000

Balance in hand	....	2,675
		<u>4,675</u>

To these must, of course, be added his unrecorded donations of all kinds; and, first and foremost, his lavish contributions towards the creature of his zeal

and forethought—"the Asylum." And, when it is remembered that he was entirely without private fortune; that all he could give was saved out of a handsome allowance, doubtless, but which had to meet his claims of personal expense and of provision for a growing family, I think it will be found that similar examples of quiet self-denial and well-doing are rare enough in his station, or in any other. At the same time, the whole of the lesson should be given. It was matter of deep regret to Lawrence in later days, as we shall find from the record of his after life, that he had not used the time by taking ampler forethought for the future demands of his children.

CHAPTER XIV.

1845—1848.

**APPOINTMENT AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S AGENT FOR THE PUNJAUB
AND THE FRONTIER—BATTLE OF SOBRAON—OCCUPATION OF
LAHORE—DISPOSAL OF CASHMERE—QUESTION OF ANNEXATION
RAISED—OPINIONS OF HENRY LAWRENCE ON THIS SUBJECT—
TREATY WITH THE SIKH GOVERNMENT, THE 9TH MARCH 1846—
DEALINGS WITH GOOLAB SING—“COW” DISTURBANCE AT
LAHORE—REDUCTION OF THE FORT OF KANGRA—MADE LIEU-
TENANT-COLONEL, JUNE 1846—EXPEDITION TO CASHMERE—
INSTALLATION OF GOOLAB SING—TREACHERY AND TRIAL OF
LAL SING—TREATY OF BYROWAL—COUNCIL OF REGENCY
ESTABLISHED AT LAHORE, DECEMBER 1846—LAWRENCE'S
ASSISTANTS IN THE PUNJAUB—INTRIGUES AND REMOVAL OF THE
MAHARANEE, AUGUST 1847—QUITS INDIA ON LEAVE FOR
ENGLAND—MADE K.C.B., MARCH 1848—OUTBREAK IN THE
PUNJAUB DURING HIS ABSENCE—CONSULTED IN ENGLAND—
LEAVES AGAIN FOR INDIA, NOVEMBER 1848.**

MAJOR LAWRENCE had already (before the summons reached him) been appointed by Sir Henry Hardinge the Governor-General's Agent for foreign relations, and, for the affairs of the Punjaub (the 3rd January 1846), to which was added (the 1st April) an appointment of Governor-General's Agent for the affairs of the North-West frontier. He was thus replaced as principal in the position which he had been sent to fill as Assistant in March 1840. Sir Henry Hardinge was fully aware that he had no man at his disposal pos-

sessed of anything approaching to Lawrence's qualifications for the post ; and, it must be added, that there was from a very early date, in the relations between Hardinge and himself, a peculiar cordiality and sympathy, which are evinced throughout the whole course of a most intimate correspondence.

Henry Lawrence was present at the "crowning victory" of Sobraon ; and, though his duties as Political Agent were not compatible with much of active military service, yet (as Major Macgregor observes of him, in a letter written after his death, 23rd April 1860) : "Henry Lawrence, even when in the highest employ, was always the artillery officer, always working his guns (or, rather, the guns of others) in the field, when not engaged in council." The publication of the work of Major Cunningham (*History of the Sikhs*), in which it was suggested that the great cause of the Khâlsa was, in fact, "sold" by the Sikh leaders on that occasion, excited a controversy which it is unnecessary now to revive, but which produced at the time a good deal of soreness, especially in the mind of Sir Henry Hardinge. It was with a view to this discussion that Lawrence, some years afterwards (the 20th March 1850) ; addressed to his old chief the following letter, narrating the circumstances of the engagement, so far as they fell within his own cognizance :—

Cunningham was with your lordship in the early part of the day at Sobraon. You sent him to bring up the horse artillery ; a few minutes afterwards you sent Mills ; and then in your anxiety to get them, you sent me. . . . I found Mills getting one troop ready to move. I ordered the two others to join it, and told Mills to bring all ; and then pushed back to join you, and found you opposite a high battery of the enemy, near their left centre, where they were making a

stand, after our troops had entered their lines at other points. By your desire, I told Horsford (now Colonel) to unlimber and open his battery of nine-pounders on them. We were then about 200 or 250 yards from the point which they held, and the lines on our right were in our possession. Horsford did not fire more than one or two rounds ; but your lordship must have remained some time in that direction, for I next remember being sent by you to the bank of the river, on the enemy's original left, to tell Alexander, who was with the guns, which must in the interim have been brought up by Mills, to withdraw, if he suffered much from the enemy's fire from the opposite side of the river.

• I must pass very rapidly over the remaining events of the first Sikh campaign, in which Sir Henry bore rather a political than a military part. On the 28th January, 1846, Sir Harry Smith fought the battle of Aliwal :—

This action (I quote from Sir Henry's own account, or rather defence, of Lord Hardinge's administration, which first appeared in the *Calcutta Review*, and is reprinted in Sir Henry's collected *Essays*) secured the communications, and the authorities could now await without anxiety the arrival of the siege train.

On the 10th February was fought the decisive battle of Sobraon ; and it may not be out of place to reproduce Sir Henry's remarks, in his special character of artillery officer, on some problems of strategical science raised by this short campaign :—

The question has often been asked, why were not the entrenchments at Sobraon and Ferozeshah turned ? why attacked in the face of the formidable Sikh artillery ? The same question might be asked of almost every Indian battle. The Duke of Wellington wisely counselled taking an Asiatic army in motion ; but he himself, with half his numbers, attacked them at Assaye, in position, and by a forward movement. At Mehidpoor, where, perhaps, the

next most formidable display of cannon was encountered by an Anglo-India army, Hyslop and Malcom—the latter, at least, accustomed to Indian warfare, and trained in the school of Wellington—not only attacked the Corg army in front, but crossed a deep river under fire. But the fact is, that Ferozeshah was not to be outflanked, its oblong figure was nearly equally formidable in every direction ; and, had Sir Hugh Gough attacked on the northward face, he might have subjected himself to the double fire of Tej Sing in his rear and the works in his front, besides having abandoned the line of communication with his wounded and baggage at Moodkhee. As matters turned out at Sobraon, perhaps, the cavalry and Grey's division, with some horse artillery, might have crossed the Sutlej simultaneously with the attack, and completed the destruction of the panic-stricken Sikhs. We say, perhaps, for even now we are not satisfied that the move would have been a safe one.

A few days only intervened between the day of Sobraon and the occupation of the Sikh capital, Lahore. It is necessary shortly to review the political state of things under which the occupation took place. The death of the famous and successful ruler of the Punjab, Runjeet Sing, had left his throne to the precarious keeping of a boy heir, Dhuleep Sing ; an intriguing mother, the "Maharanee ;" and her confidential adviser, placed by public belief in too intimate relations with her, the Rajah Lal Sing, a name very familiar to those conversant with Indian politics a quarter of a century ago. Already, at this early period, there were many in India, some at home, who counselled the employment of our victory by the annexation of the Punjab to the British dominions. Such was not the policy of Hardinge.

He had (says Mr Marshman—*History of India*, iii. 298), neither the means nor the desire of annexation He considered it necessary to punish the Sikh nation for

past offences, and to prevent the recurrence of aggression, but he was anxious to perform these duties without suppressing its political existence. Immediately after the Sikh army invaded our territory he had issued a proclamation confiscating the cis-Sutlej possessions of the Lahore crown; and he now annexed the Jullunder Dooab, or district lying between the Sutlej and the Beas,¹ to the Company's dominions, by which he obtained security for our hill stations, and a position which gave us the control of the Sikh capital. The expenses of the campaign were computed at a crore and a half of rupees, which the Lahore state was required to make good; but the profligacy of the ministers and the rapacity of the soldiery had exhausted the treasury, and of the twelve crores which Runjeet Sing had left in it, there remained scarcely fifty lakhs of rupces to meet the demand.² Sir Henry determined, therefore, to take over the province of Cashmere and the highlands of Jummoo, in lieu of the remaining crore. Since the death of Runjeet Sing, the powerful Rajah of Jummoo, Goolab Sing, had always cherished the hope of being able, by some happy turn of circumstances, to convert his principality into an independent sovereignty. During the recent contest he had played the part of an interested neutral, watching the issue of the contest, and prepared to side with the strongest

The policy of annexation was, we know, essentially contrary to the general views on this class of subjects entertained by Henry Lawrence. These have already

¹ And all the Alpine territory lying between the former river and the Chenab.

² The reader cannot help being a little amused, occasionally, at the indignation expressed by Indian authorities and their historians on meeting with empty treasuries. Had the minister of the Sikh Government not been "profligate," not the soldiers "rapacious," a handsome sum would no doubt have remained in that of Lahore, which would have found its way into the coffers of the Company. One is involuntarily reminded of a story current in the Crimean war. A Zouave was met, returning from the sack of Kertch, with only a worthless and heavy article or two of furniture to drag behind him. A spectator condoled with him. "Oui, monsieur," said he, "ces brigands-là (the inhabitants of Kertch) ils ont tout emporté."

become known to my readers, and will appear more and more distinctly as they proceed in this narrative. To abstain from all enlargement of our limits not provoked by the absolute need of security ; to enforce on the natives of India, not by precept, but by practice, the duties of justice and forbearance ; to apply ourselves, as our special business, to the task of raising the moral character of the governing and aristocratic classes, or such relics of them as ages of political vicissitude have left, and thus enable new Indian sovereignties to grow up under British protection ; these were throughout his Indian life the objects which he endeavoured to force on the attention of rulers, and which (so far as his own practical influence extended—and it was at one time very large), he endeavoured to carry into effect. I here make this cursory mention of these opinions of his, which will come more distinctly before our eyes as we proceed in the story of his life, not to pronounce any judgment on their wisdom or soundness, but simply in order to afford a key to the general tone of his advice and character of his conduct when representing British authority as agent to the Governor-General, in a war-like country just subdued ; a country agitated at once with internal dissensions and distrust, and with fear of annexation by the conqueror. And although the following extract (of a letter from Major Shaw to General George Lawrence, written in 1860), has mere direct reference to events which occurred at a later period than 1846, I insert it here as confirming in the strongest manner what I have stated as to Henry Lawrence's general feelings :—

Mr. John Ludlow, in his book on *Thoughts on the policy of the Crown towards India*, classes Sir Henry Lawrence

with the annexationists. Surely nothing can be more erroneous than this. I never heard a word spoken, or read a line written, by your brother, on annexation, that was not in severe reprobation of it. He stood almost alone also in condemning the annexation of the Punjab, which others looked upon as almost a necessity. (See pp. 192, 193, 194.) . . . I believe his (Mr. Ludlow's) every sentiment is in accordance with what your dear brother felt and said on annexation. How he should have written such a representation, I know not.

Although with some interruption of the subject immediately in hand, I insert here, in confirmation of the general character of Henry Lawrence's views on this subject, the following postscript of one of his confidential letters written to Lord Hardinge a year later, relating to the parallel case of our annexation of Sindh. It will be seen that Lawrence took the pains to keep a copy of this document and sent it to his wife in England, whose deep interest in the "Outram controversy" he well knew.

P.S.—In regard to Sindh, I don't think Government can do better than restore it to the Ameers, for, as I understand the case, we could then dispense with every man now in Sindh; the desert being our frontier. I would not advocate leaving a man behind, political or military, but simply to have a treaty allowing us the free navigation of the river. The difficulty would be, as to whom to give the country, as well as to keep the peace between Ali Moorad and the new ruler or rulers; they should select a head in whose family the chiefship should descend, or there would be endless contentions. The people of Sindh may be, and I hope are happier than they were under the Ameers; but I don't think the case is so clear as to justify the annual expenditure of half a million sterling, and to sacrifice the lives of a couple of hundred British soldiers. This is the expediency view of the question; at least as much might be said on the moral question. My opinion is that from beginning to end the Ameers have been

treated harshly, and most of them unjustly ; in short, that we had no business in Sindh in 1838, and that the war of 1848 might have been avoided. Your lordship will not take amiss the freedom of these remarks. I should not have ventured on them had not your allusion to Sindh appeared to invite notice. I have considered the Sindh question a good deal, and have made up my mind to the desirability of retiring, although I am aware of the objections to such a step generally in India. There is, however, all the difference in the world between voluntarily restoring a country at a period of perfect peace, and abandoning it when pressed or even threatened with dangers.

Some compensation would have to be given to Indians who had settled in Sindh under our wing, and partisans of ours who could not safely remain. Half a year's present expenses would do all this liberally.

H. M. LAWRENCE.

DEAREST,—

25th May 1847.

MUCH as I wished to write in the *Calcutta Review* about Outram and Sindh, I have never been able to do so, but perhaps I have nearly as much aided the truth by helping to direct Lord Hardinge's attention at different times to the subject.—Your own

H. M. LAWRENCE.

With how slight anticipation of success Sir Henry Hardinge himself entered on the unpromising task of reconstituting the Sikh government, with the adoption of which the ambitious class of politicians in India reproached him as with a weakness, appears from the following confidential letter of March 30, 1846 :—

MY DEAR LAWRENCE,—

YOUR report of the accommodation for the troops at Lahore, and the energy of your proceedings, is satisfactory.

When I consider the character of the Ranees, her minister, Lal Sing, and the absence of any man of master mind among the Sikhs, to take the helm at this crisis, I confess I think the probability is adverse to the continuance of a

Sikh government, which after all is a mere fragment of the population of the countries which they profess to rule, their numbers of men fit for the active duties of soldiers on the trans-Sutlej side not exceeding 100,000 fighting men.

For the present, however, such discussion, as regards the Punjab, was premature. Whatever advanced politicians might dream of, there was no serious thought of its annexation in 1846.

Lord Hardinge (says Sir Henry, in the Essay already cited—written in December 1847) had not the means for annexation, had he desired it. The Sikhs have come to terms, and have settled down, because they have been well treated by us, and protected from their own army and chiefs by us; because scarcely a single jaghire in the country has been resumed, and because the rights and even prejudices of all classes have been respected. It is, however, by no means so certain, had the country been occupied, all jaghiros summarily resumed as has been done elsewhere in India, and held until it might be the pleasure or convenience of Government to examine into the tenures, that the Sikh population would have sat down quietly under the yoke. . . . Had they been reduced to the level of our revenue-paying population, there cannot be a doubt that there would have been a strike for freedom.

As it was, the British Government, administered by Hardinge, contented itself, as has been seen, with annexing the "Jullunder Dooab" between the Sutlej and Chenab; with maintaining the existing Sikh authority at Lahore, under the protection of a subsidiary British force, the use of which was to terminate absolutely at the close of the year; and with handing over Cashmere to Goolab Sing, that chief undertaking to cease from interference in the affairs of the Sikh State properly so called. On the

day of the date of this arrangement (March 11) Lord Hardinge addressed the following instructions to Sir Henry as his agent in the Punjab, where he was to be assisted by his brother John Lawrence as commissioner of the annexed territory, and his frequent visitor at Lahore.

**LORD HARDINGE to SIR HENRY LAWRENCE as Agent
N. W. Frontier.**

Lahore, March 11 1846.

The use of the force to form the garrison of Lahore is to be strictly limited to the protection of the town and citadel of Lahore, by defending the gateways, the ramparts, and the exterior walls of the place.

After many subsidiary instructions the Governor-General proceeds :—

The Sikh chiefs, excluded from power, will probably intrigue against the present Government, and may attempt to excite the soldiery against those who were parties to the Treaty of Peace. Rajah Goolab Sing may wish to see the Punjab in a weak and disturbed state, and the cry of the country having been sold to the English might cause considerable excitement. It will therefore be necessary to be at all times in a state of military vigilance. . . . In all your proceedings you will enforce by your advice, and protests, if necessary, the earliest reorganization of the Sikh army on the safest system for the permanence of the Sikh Government, doing everything in your power to ensure the success of this trial of re-establishing a Sikh Government, which may eventually carry on its functions without British aid or British interference.

The strength put forth during this campaign by the Sikh nation as a military power has rendered it expedient to weaken the resources of a State which had become a military republic dangerous to its neighbours and its own Government; but the Sikh territories are sufficient if wisely administered to render the Government quite equal to resist

any Native power by which it can be assailed ; and you will on all occasions assure the Sikh rulers that, whilst we do not desire the annexation of the Punjab to the British Indian possessions, the Government is determined not to lend itself to any subsidiary system, and as soon as its troops are withdrawn will decline to interfere in the internal affairs of the Sikh State, except by such friendly councils as those which passed between the two Governments in the time of the Maharajah Runjeet Sing.

One of Lawrence's projects—attended at this time with but partial success—was to induce a number of the disbanded Sikh soldiers to enlist with us.

I have talked (he says in March 1846) to several men as to their entering our service. . They at once said they would be delighted, and would go wherever we liked ; but that they hoped we would allow them to wear their hair and turbans. The hair I observed would be respected, but turbans could not be allowed. After some talk they said there would be no objection to helmets or caps of iron. I thought that this would help us out of the difficulty, and I hope that your Excellency will approve of the idea, and authorize me to say that iron or steel caps will be permitted, and that their hair will not be interfered with. If you can do so we shall in the course of a month be able to raise two very fine regiments. I would suggest that fifteen or twenty men per company be Mussulmans or Hindoos of our own provinces. I can raise four or five hundred Sikhs here from the discharged men if your Excellency so desires. I have seen some very fine-looking fellows, and expect a large number to come to me this afternoon. I shall make no promises until I receive your orders.

The Sikhs say that, according to their holy books, any man who wears a cap will suffer purgatory for seven generations, and a Sikh would prefer death to having his beard cut.

I have, &c,

(Signed) H. M. LAWRENCE.

The treaty of March 9th, 1846, which disposed for a time of the fate of the Punjab, was signed on

the part of England at Lahore by Mr. Currie and Henry Lawrence ; on that of the "Khalsa," the great ideal Sikh commonwealth, by the young Dhuleep Sing, his minister Lal Sing, and other warlike chiefs of the nation. But one very important part of the arrangement was provided for by separate treaty of March 16th ; this was the transfer to Goolab Sing of "all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the River Indus, and westward of the River Ravee," including the celebrated valley of Cashmere. Territory, in fact, was taken from the Lahore Durbar in lieu of a pecuniary mulct, which it was unable or unwilling to furnish ; and the minister, Lal Sing, was believed to be ready enough to get rid in this way of the rivalry of a formidable chief. On the 15th of March Goolab Sing was formally invested with the title of Maharajah at Amritsir ; and (says Cunningham) "stood up, and with joined hands, expressed his gratitude to the British Viceroy, adding, without however any ironical meaning, that he was indeed his Zukhureed or gold-boughten slave."

But the strongest vindication which I have seen, both of the man himself, and of the wisdom of the course adopted towards him, I find in a letter of Sir George Clerk, written to Sir Charles Napier in March 1849.

I have been under the necessity on more than one occasion, of testing rather severely Goolab Sing's loyalty to us. My belief is that he is a man eminently qualified, by character and surrounding territorial possessions, for the position of Ruler there, that all his interests lie on the side of friendship with us, that he will always desire, and some time or another may need, our countenance of his authority, against enemies. Their aggressions, whether Chinese and

Ghoorkhas on one side of him, or Afghans on the other, will be retarded, rather than precipitated, by his proximity to them in *that* form; instead of our being in more direct contact with them. If Rajah Goolab Sing of Cashmere ever goes against us, it will be owing only to his having been handled stupidly by our government, or by our officers on the Frontier and in the Punjaub.³

Henry Lawrence himself, it must be confessed, was not over complimentary in his estimate of this fortunate chief's character:—

We admit that he is a bad man; we fear, however, that there are few princes who are much better; few who, with his provocation, have not committed equal atrocities. The general tenor of the reports of the score of English travellers who have visited him during the years 1846 and 1847 is, that though grasping and mercenary, he is mild, conciliatory, and even merciful.

I have no doubt that Maharajah Goolab Sing is a man of indifferent character, but if we look for protection from Native chiefs, we shall look in vain. Very much, but not all, that is said of him might, as far as my experience goes, be so of any sovereign or chief in India. He has many virtues that few of them possess: viz. courage, energy, and personal purity; his disposition is cruel, but not more than that of hundreds who have not his excuse for such conduct. The next worse feature in his character is miserliness, but this I cannot believe he carries to the extent lately reported. It is trying to

³ Ranjeet Sing, adds Sir George, "fostered in the north of his kingdom a Rajpoot power, because it could have no affinity with his turbulent Khalsa on one side, or with malignant and vindictive Islam on the other. Had proof of the wisdom of this measure been wanting, it has been signally shown in his time and ours, on four important occasions. Lord Hardinge gave still greater substance to that Hill ruler. The measure was provident and wise, as were all his own measures. There are those who now would disregard his policy, and who seem to be utterly ignorant of the motives of it. The ruler has some grounds for the remark he made to an English Ibex-hunter up there. 'My good friends, the English Government having discovered their mistake, in supposing that the shawl wool is a product of my country, seem disposed to shear me.'"

have to deal with a niggardly man, and one whose word cannot be depended on ; but if such men were to influence our dealings with Native chiefs, further than putting us on our guard against the consequences, there would be an end of all communication. The way in which he has been doubted, denounced, and vilified in anonymous journals, is very disgraceful to us.

I hope (he writes to the new Maharajah, 11th April 1846), that with your usual good sense and forethought, and remembering the expressed opinions of Mr. Currie and myself, you will at once withdraw from all lands not specified as yours in the treaty. Such conduct will be to my comfort and to your own good name.

In several Purwanahs; I observe, that you state certain portions of the Damun Koh to belong to the Kohistan, and assert other estates to be yours of old, and in one Purwanah are the following words :—" If I am to have only the Kohistan, then I shall have nothing but stones and trees." I am as much astonished as annoyed at these words, for to me, your friend, it appears that Cashmere is something, and that Jusrouta and Huzara, &c. are something ; but whatever is their worth you took them of your own free will and pleasure. Since then, my friend, you have acquired, by the treaty, an extensive territory, I beg you, in the way of wisdom and forethought, to forego small matters.

In your Purwanah to your servant Mohkumooddeen, you wrote of being obliged to employ an army. You surely did not think that without an army and at that expense, the settlement of so large a tract of country could be effected. Certainly by mildness and consideration, and by allowing a maintenance to all, and recognizing the rights of all, a small army will eventually suffice ; but in the first instance everywhere a large force is necessary. When arrangements are once made and good government established, then the army can be reduced.

I am grieved that such complaints as I have alluded to should have been uttered, for it seemed to me and to all India, and will doubtless appear to all in England, that your

Highness had cause only of thankfulness ; in that you had received much in return for very little ; and I, in belief of your wisdom and forethought, was a party to the above arrangement. It is therefore strange that I should have trouble and care from your acts, or that you should think that in your affairs I would deviate a hair's breadth from the terms of the treaty. In the way of sincerity and good will, I have now written what was necessary, and beg an early and distinct reply.

In April, this year, he received from his sister, Letitia Hayes, the tidings of his mother's approaching dissolution :—

April 12 1846.

MY DARLING HENRY,—I do not know who writes to you by this mail ; the hand that never failed you, our beloved mother's, will not in all probability ever again be capable of doing so. . . . We were sent for on the 21st. Learning it might be the last day of unclouded mind, thank God, her own vigorous mind and heart spoke to each of us, and during the night she rallied so much as to make it impossible to say how long it may please God to spare her. . . . She was most thankful at hearing your wife's letter from the river to her brother William. Dearest Honoria, I have been grieving to think of the sinking of heart it will give her to hear she has no mother. We have together rejoiced our heart and soul over your happy union, dearest brother, and do we not still allow ourselves to glory in your renown ; yes, to-day mamma and I agreed you were born to do good, and make all within your reach thrice blessed.—Your ever fond sister.

Among the earliest duties cast on the resident was also that of repressing the passion for redress and retaliation naturally excited in the minds of men who had suffered under the oppression of those chieftains, whose power was overthrown or curtailed by the British successes. Some difference of opinion between him and Major Mackeson on this subject, of which the details are not preserved, elicited a communication

from Lawrence to the Government of India, which laid down distinctly the general principles which he considered it important to maintain in relation to this class of cases :— *

In my opinion it is absolutely necessary that acts of aggression and outrage, and crimes violating the peace and good order of society, which have occurred within a definite period preceding the introduction of our rule, should be cognizable by our officers. To leave the evil-doer in possession of the property he has acquired by violence ; of the rights which he usurped by the strong hand ; to allow the robber and murderer to pass unpunished ; is tantamount to tacitly permitting the aggrieved to retaliate, and thereby to perpetuate feuds and to encourage crime. There is doubtless no peculiar advantage in fixing the term of three years as the period from which complaints should be heard ; but as it is absolutely necessary to fix some date, I consider that such space of time is amply sufficient. If no overt act has occurred during three years, we may fairly take it for granted that no interference is necessary.

Government will observe that I propose no strait-lace mode of procedure in these cases, but that they should be decided by arbitration under the eye of a British officer. It is hardly fair that Major Mackeson should bring forward Kythul in proof of the unpopularity of such courts. As long as I remained in that part of the country, the system of arbitration was extremely popular ; when I left Kythul, the district was for thirteen months, in spite of my warnings and remonstrances, left to the tender mercies of a deputy collector, who was removed from the agency after he had done all the mischief that might have been expected at his hands. I care not, however, by what process justice is administered, so that it be not denied, and the people be reduced to steal or forcibly carry off cows, children, and women, in retaliation for similar acts of violence, perpetrated previous to the introduction of our rule.

One of the earliest occasions on which Sir Henry was called on to exhibit his qualifications as a ruler in the exercise of his duty as Government Agent at

Lahore was that of an incident popularly styled the "Cow Row," trifling enough in itself, but a fair illustration of the difficulties which beset an officer in charge of British interests in a place full of warlike natives, recently subdued, of doubtful or dangerous temper. The slightest false step in the direction either of undue violence or undue lenity may be most pernicious to the public interest; while the officer, for his own sake, is harassed between the fear of treating as trifling a serious danger and that of treating a trifle as serious.

I regret (he writes to the Government of India, 21st April 1846,) to have to report that about 11 o'clock A.M. to-day a disturbance arose in the city of Lahore, owing to the brutal conduct of an European artilleryman towards some cows. The man was sentry over the outer gate of the artillery barrack enclosure leading to one of the streets of the city. He was endeavouring to keep passengers, &c. from coming down the street to enable a long string of camels, with ammunition, arrived from Ferozepoor to-day, to come up and enter the gates, when a herd of cows pressed upon him, and in self-defence (as he says) he cut at them. He might, at any rate, have been contented to use the flat of his sword. Three or four animals were wounded.

The news immediately spread, and the shops of the town were closed:—

I sent word to Rajah Lal Sing that the sentry should be punished, but that he must desire the shops to be opened; and I further requested that he would punish those who tried to create a disturbance, by inducing people to shut their shops. . . . Accompanied by Major Macgregor and Lieutenant Edwardes, and attended by a dozen Sowars, I then went into the town to explain what had happened to the people, and to assure them of protection. We had proceeded half-way through, and had quite satisfied the owners of two

of the animals, and were still in the house of the second, talking to him, when we heard a disturbance outside. On going out, we found our attendants engaged in a scuffle with part of a crowd of Brahmins and Khatrees, who, it appears, had followed us; while, from the roofs of the adjoining houses, brickbats were being plentifully thrown. Scarcely a man or horse escaped untouched, and Lieutenant Edwardes was severely struck on the head. We gave immediate notice at the gates, caused them to be closed, and put the different guards on the alert; and then went and informed the Major-General of what had occurred.

While on my way back, I sent for Rajah Lal Sing and Sirdar Tej Sing, who arrived at my quarters soon after myself. I told them they must make over to me the owners of the houses from which we had been pelted, as well as any armed men found in the streets. The crowd has nearly dispersed, and most of the shops are again open. There was nothing preconcerted in this affair, nor would I believe a single Sikh to have been concerned in it; on the contrary, many have since offered their services. Brahmins were the instigators.

On the following day Lawrence again entered the city, and found the excitement but little abated:— “Rajah Lal Sing sent to inform me that he hesitated to seize the Brahmins implicated because they threatened to destroy themselves!” By firmness, however, Lawrence procured their arrest, and forced Lal Sing to obey his bidding. The leaders were sent in irons to Ferozepoor:—

I thought of flogging the three chief offenders, and should have done so, had I not been personally affected by their offence.

It must not be supposed that we were attacked yesterday owing to ill-will against us personally: we are daily to be found equally at disadvantage: and I believe that any other Europeans would, at the time, have been treated in the same

manner. Had I been aware of the extent of excitement that prevailed, I should not have gone into the city : as it was, I acted as, under somewhat similar circumstances, I had some years ago done at Umballa, when I found that a few kind words very soon appeased the mob.,

The principal instigator, Dutt Brahmin, was ultimately executed : no other life was taken, and the ebullition quietly subsided.

This apparently trifling event seems to possess additional importance when regarded with the light afforded by the experience of subsequent years. It is a general truth that religious fanaticism is strongest, not in regions where one form of faith exclusively prevails, but in those in which belief is divided ; and especially in those border-lands which have on their respective frontiers populations of opposite faiths. There are plenty of examples in Europe to confirm this assertion. Now, the Punjab is a border country, between the faith of Islam and that of Brahma ; on its northern and western boundaries are the seats of the fiercest sectaries whom Mohammedanism has now to display—the "Wahabees," as they are commonly, but only analogically, termed, as they have no connection with the Arab reformers properly so called ; while within the land of the Five Rivers itself, the Sikh nation maintains a zeal for the tenets and practices of Brahminism scarcely paralleled in the interior of India. And in this very year (1871) the killing of cows in that province by Mussulman butchers, practised publicly where it had been heretofore only tolerated with much precaution, has led to feuds attended with bloodshed, and threatening serious consequences.

In May 1846, Lawrence had to leave Lahore at the head of a small force, detached to reduce the

Fort of Kangra, in the north-east of the Punjab, held by a chief who declared that he would hold out to the last, unless "Runjeet himself appeared to demand the keys." Its importance seems chiefly to have consisted in its natural strength. Vigne, the traveller, considered that by European engineers it might be rendered impregnable. The chiefs of the Lahore Durbar had promised to obtain the surrender, but had not performed their undertaking. "There are parties in the Durbar," writes Lawrence to the Governor-General, "whose exertions in this matter have, to say the least of it, not been in our favour." Though the garrison was small, consisting only of about 300 men, the danger of the example, and the evident hesitation of our reluctant allies, rendered it necessary to proceed with vigour. When heavy guns were brought up, and before they were "placed," the garrison surrendered, and were recommended to the mercy of Government.

The following private letter from Sir H., now Lord, Hardinge—he had just been promoted to the peerage—conveys the instructions under which Lawrence acted on this occasion :—

MY DEAR LAWRENCE,—

Simla, May 27th, 1846.

I AM much obliged to you for your congratulations; and, when the Sobraon promotions are received, I hope to reciprocate my satisfaction in seeing your name favourably noticed.

I beg you will not make yourself ill by your exertions at Kangra.³ I quite approved of your conciliating Brigadier

³ This remarkable spot (situate in the hill country, in the north-east of the Punjab, near the Beas River) is thus described in a "Memorandum by Major E. H. Paske, Deputy Commissioner, Punjab, on the Products and Trade of the Kangra District, with some Remarks upon Trade Routes," 1870 :—

Wheeler, as, when the siege commences, all the military arrangements will be, of course, in his hands.

The terms, in case of a siege, being unconditional surrender after the guns are opened, will give rise to no difference of opinion, and you, as Political Agent, will dispose of the garrison by marching them as prisoners to Philloor. . .

You will observe that, once having sanctioned the use of a Native Agent as the means of inducing the Sikhs to surrender, Dewan Deana Nath, up to the commencement of the siege, ought to have had his own way : if he chose to bribe them by letting them pocket 25,000 rupees, the affair was theirs, not ours. The appearance, as the official correspondence now stands, is, that negotiations between the Sikh garrison and the Sikh Agent were broken off by you before the siege had commenced. I know you have done everything in your power to induce the surrender ; but in this affair, where there may be many casualties, we must not only attend substantially to the means of avoiding them, but also to appearances. A gallant resistance by the Sikh garrison is a very undesirable result. I considered Colonel Outram quite

" Kangra proper, with its outlying subdivisions of Kooloo, Spitti, and Lahoul, which together comprise the district of Kangra in the Punjaub, is an extensive tract of mountainous country, situated on the outer ranges of the Himalaya Mountains, covering an area of about 12,861 square miles, and containing a population of 752,419 souls. The district comprises all the hill territory belonging to the British Government, situated between the Rivers Ravee and Sutlej. It extends from Shahpore on the west, in latitude 32° 20', longitude 75° 45', to the borders of Chinese Tartary, in latitude 32°, longitude 78° 10'. The northern extremity touches upon Ladakh, and the southern limits of the district rest upon the plains of the Baresi Doab."

Mr. G. Barnes, in his "Settlement Report," gives the following very accurate and graphic description of the Kangra Valley.—

" I know no spot in the Himalayas which for beauty or grandeur can compete with the Kangra Valley and these overshadowing hills. No scenery presents such sublime and delightful contrasts. Below lies the plain, a picture of rural loveliness and repose. The surface is covered with the richest cultivation, irrigated by streams which descend from perennial snows, and interspersed with homesteads buried in the midst of groves and fruit-trees. Tuming from this scene of peaceful beauty, the stern and majestic hills confront us. Their sides are furrowed with precipitous atercourses, forests of oak clothe their flanks, and higher up give place to gloomy and funereal pines. Above all are wastes of snow, or pyramidal masses of granite too perpendicular for the snow to rest upon."

wrong in having anything to say to the assault of Puncotta. You must not, on his account, imitate an unnecessary example, and I really cannot spare you.

Yours very sincerely,

HARDINGE.

The more forts are dismantled (observes Hardinge, in giving private directions to Lawrence about this capture), with proper regard to the habits and interests of the Hill Rajahs, the better. Indian military policy is aggressive, and not defensive; but the last campaign has proved that it is very desirable to have fortified posts, in which we can deposit stores and ammunition, &c.

The very trifling difference between Governor-General and subordinates, to which the following letter relates, would not be worth preserving in memory, were it not for the kindly tone of Lord Hardinge's letter making up the quarrel. Henry Lawrence had offended him by carelessly sending him, without explanation, a private letter of Brigadier Wheeler, with some passages in which he was displeased:—

MY DEAR LAWRENCE,—

Simla, June 9th, 1846.

YOUR letter of the 4th and the English mail were received together, but no list of promotions for Sobraon, which I attribute to the public office being short during the Easter holidays.

Rely upon it, there are few men in India who esteem you more sincerely than I do for your qualities of head and heart; and I am quite satisfied by your explanation that you never sent papers calculated to displease me.

I shall be very glad to see you here, for you require rest; and I should be glad to confer with you. On the other hand, the great experiment at Lahore depends upon the temper of the army. I will write you on that subject. . . .

Yours very sincerely,

HARDINGE.

In June 1846, Lord Hardinge's cordial wishes for the professional advancement of Henry Lawrence were gratified by his promotion to the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

The events which followed require a brief explanation, in order to explain the part taken in them by the subject of our memoir, although their importance, as matters of Indian history, has passed into oblivion along with the great Khâlsa sovereignty, which our Government and the Resident honestly, but ineffectually, strove for a while to maintain. By our appointment of Goolab Sing to the separate throne of Cashmere, the Vizarut, or Chief Minister's post in the Durban of Lahore, became vacant. It was through our tacit permission that Rajah Lal Sing was allowed to establish himself in it, and made thereby the most powerful authority among the Sikhs, alternately controlling and controlled by the ambitious Maharaneo, and entrusted with the charge of the Maharajah Dhuleep Sing. Lal Sing and the Princess were soon engaged in a common intrigue against us; and they found an agent in Sheik Imammoodcen, the Governor of Cashmere, on behalf of the Sikh Durbar. This chieftain was under orders to deliver up possession to Goolab whenever the latter was ready to assume it; but, in league with his powerful supporters at Lahore, he first delayed, and then refused, to execute this duty:—

" The Sheik (says a writer in the *Calcutta Review* of July 1847) is, perhaps, the best mannered and best dressed man in the Panjab. He is rather under than above the middle height; but his figure is exquisite, "as far as it goes," and is usually set off with the most unrivalled fit which the unrivalled tailors of Cashmere could achieve for the governor of the province. His smile and bow are those of a perfect

courtier, whose taste is too good to be obsequious ; his great natural intelligence and an unusually good education have endowed him with considerable conversational powers ; and his Persian idiom would do no dishonour to a native of Shiraz. Beneath this smooth surface of accomplishment and courtesy lies an ill-assorted and incongruous disposition : ambition, pride, cruelty and intrigue, strangely mixed up with indolence, effeminacy, voluptuousness and timidity. . . . Deeply engaged in the intrigues and revolutions of Lahore, he was never to be found at the crisis of any of them ; and so completely are all his aspirations negatived by indecision, that he spent the six months of his Cashmere government in wavering between three different schemes for his own personal aggrandisement : doubtful whether to accept Goolab Sing's offer, and continue governor on a salary of one lakh per annum ; to oppose the transfer of the province to that prince, which Rajah Lal Sing told him should be a receipt in full for his Cashmere accounts ; or to try to buy over the British, and make himself independent sovereign of the loveliest valley in the world. We shall see presently that he chose the most senseless of the three.

In this choice he was urged, it is said, by the influence of a wife, the daughter of the Khan of the Kohistan, "proud of her kin and blood," and bigoted in her Mohammedan faith. Imammoodeen took up arms to oppose the entry of Goolab. Sing, and his troops obtained some advantages. Henry Lawrence had need of all his usual promptitude and vigour. The kind of support which he had to expect from the Sikh Durbar may be partly collected from the following letter, addressed by him to Currie (September 1846) :

I observe that Rajah Lal Sing is complaining of Maharajah Goolab Sing wanting the Sikh troops to go by the distant and difficult passes, to prevent their succeeding, and thereby causing their disgrace ; but the Maharajah has now too deep an interest in the game to desire that it should be lost.

These endless jealousies and mutual accusations between Goolab Sing and Lal Sing are conducive to much mischief. Unhappily, the word of one is no better than that of the other.

The troops selected by the Lahore Durbar for the service were :—

Under Sirdar Sher Sing—His own troops, the Kohistanees, about 5,000 in number; four guns.

Under General Doab Sing—Two regiments.

Under General Khan Sing—Two regiments.

Lahore troops, under General Imam Sing—Two regiments; two guns.

Within a few weeks Lawrence had placed himself at the head of the unwilling Sikh troops, whose Government he compelled by force of resolution to adhere to their engagements with us and with Goolab Sing. Supported by Brigadier Wheeler, with a British force from the Jullunder Dooab, he put down without difficulty all efforts at resistance, and was admitted into Cashmere by the terrified Sheik. Imammoodeen surrendered himself personally to Lawrence. The conduct of the Sikh troops (says Lord Hardinge) under the same officers who led them so lately in their invasion of our provinces, now employed in carrying out the conditions of the Treaty of Lahore, and, perhaps, the least palatable part of those conditions, under the instructions of British officers, cannot but command admiration.

Properly considered (adds the Reviewer already quoted), this feat of compelling the culpable Lahore Durbar, with its chief conspirator (Lal Sing) at its head, to make over, in the most marked and humiliating manner, the richest province in the Punjaub to the one man most detested by the Khâlsa, was the

real victory of the campaign ; and its achievement must continue an enigma to every one who remembers that it was performed by 10,000 Sikh soldiers, at the bidding and under the guidance of two or three British officers, within eighteen months of the battle of Sobraon.

This conjuncture was described by Henry Lawrence, in a letter to Mr. Kaye (published in his *Lives of Indian Officers*, ii. 298), as—

That ticklish occasion when I took the Sikh army to Cashmere, and when I was obliged to tell Lal Sing's vakeel that if anything happened to me, John Lawrence was told to put the Rajah (Lal Sing) in confinement. The fact was, I knew he was acting treacherously, but trusted to carrying the thing through by expedition, and by the conviction that the British army was in our rear to support and avenge us.

Henry Lawrence had to use all his determination to maintain, and impress on his chief and the public, the policy of supporting Goolab Sing, in opposition to the pressure put on him by many of his own officers and friends, among whom the new Mahārajah enjoyed anything but a good character; their opinion, perhaps, partly influenced by the very unfavourable portrait drawn of him by Henry Lawrence himself, in his literary works. The following playful letter from his intimate friend and most attached lieutenant, Herbert Edwardes, evidently refers to some dispute between them on this subject, in which the Resident had maintained his own opinion at the expense of checking his impetuous subordinate:

Camp, Thundsh Panee, 12th October 1846.

MY DEAR LAWRENCE,—

I HAVE received your letter of the 8th, and digested the wiggling it contains as well as I might. My unhappy style of composition will some day be the death of me. I have

looked through my letter-book for "the British lion," and find him "waking from slumber," in a letter to Poorun Chund; but, remember, it is a translation from a Persian letter, and some allowance must be made for the spirit of the language. However, I do not insist upon the lion; and, after all, he is of no great consequence, one way or the other. In my public letters to you, I think I have put great violence on myself, and made as plain a pudding of my plums and suet as the materials admitted of—all out of consideration for your Abernethy appetite in these matters. With respect to the other point, in which I see I have offended, I am greatly puzzled. You tell me, "not to blacken G. S— quite so much;" and I must answer, that if I did not, I should not tell the truth, or what I myself believe to be such. I know you too well to think you would wish me to write to order, or make out a case; and, in writing to you, I have considered it my duty always to tell Government through you how matters actually stand. I may be deceived, of course, in my estimate of the Maha's character; but I should be surely wrong, if I did not paint him *as he appears to me*. Sent up to give information to Government, I thought I was bound in honour to describe the man *as I found him*—a bad king, a miser, and a liar! If he is not all this, and a thousand times worse (for he is the worst native I ever came in contact with) then I have belied him, but not wilfully. If I had found him a Noshirvan or a Ha'tum Taie, I would have been right happy to sing his praises. God knows, I have over and over, in good and ill humour, serious and laughing, in public and private, tried to win him to better ways—to strive, in his old age, to get an *acquittance* for the injuries he has inflicted on almost every household in the Kohistan. I am not his enemy, I assure you; neither does he look on me as such. I have told him things which he certainly never heard before, and which made his two confidential men's hair stand on end; but both he and they are all the better for it. They know, I think, them all rogues; and they own it with the most delightful frankness. We get on capitally, and are the best of friends. The Maharajah, I am sure, was never such

a good Christian as at this moment. Presently, perhaps, I may be able to write, and call him an honest man.

Now, don't be angry, my dear L——, but come and see him ; or, rather, come and transact business with him, and, after hearing and seeing for a week, blow me up again, if you think I have "blackened" the dirtiest fellow in all India. . . . I cannot refrain from adding here an extract from the very last overland letter I received from home, which, after informing me that a certain book—which shall be nameless—"is now a stock-book in the family," says, in allusion to some passages in it, "Who could reclaim or actually civilize *such a being as Goolab Sing?*"

(Now I am even with you for your cut at my "Brahminee bull !")

The next is from Edwardes to Lieut. Lumsden, on the same subject :—

Camp, Segowlee, 17th October 1846.

MY DEAR LUMSDEN,—

8 o'clock P.M.

Tej Sing, in the civillest manner in the world, has declined a meeting with the Maharajah at Dhundesur.

His plea is ill health ; but, if he is well enough to march at all, he is well enough to come to meet the Maharajah.

However, that is not the point. If he was really *ill*, it would not do at this moment to decline a meeting. The report of a *sp'it* in the camp would go abroad immediately, and do great mischief. Tej Sing has not come thus far about his own business ; he has come about Goolab Sing's ; and G. S—— thinks it necessary to meet and concert future measures.

Please tell him, therefore, he *must* come ; and make him name his time, and stick to it. It would never do to bring the Maharajah to Dhundesur, and then Tej Sing send word he had a bellyache.

The fact is, that both these old rogues are in a mutual fright of each other ; but, if you accompany Tej Sing, and I accompany Goolab Sing, they cannot poison each other without witnesses, at all events. , , ,

I send this by the motbir, whom the Maharajah despatches to persuade the refractory C. in C.

Is not this like the embassy of Ulysses to the sulky Achilles, when he *would* keep his tent, and would *not* come out and wop the Trojans?

Believe me, yours ever,

HERBERT W. EDWARDES.

The instalment of the Maharajah Goolab in his new sovereignty is thus reported by Lawrence to Mr. Currie, Secretary to the Government:—

12th November 1846.

1. I have the honour to report for the information of Government as follows:—

2. Maharajah Goolab Sing entered the city of Cashmere about 8 A.M. on the 9th inst., and found his sowars in entire possession; Sirdar Shoojan Sing, with the garrison of Shirghurry, about 8,000 men, and the family of Sheik Imammoodien, having moved off two days previously. To avoid their line of march, the Maharajah made a detour on his road from Shupeyon, and fell in with me again at Pampur on the evening of the 8th. I thought that his Highness would prefer entering his capital by himself, and therefore gave him the opportunity of doing so, but the meeting at Pampur led me to imagine he was willing to sink his dignity in the increased opinion of British support that my formal accompaniment would afford him. I am, however, still at a loss to know what were his real wishes for the fortunate moment to enter the fort and palace of Shirghurry being 8 A.M.; he left Pampur before daylight, and now says he was averse to having me disturbed at so early an hour.

3. By the perfect freedom with which I am followed in the streets and on the river with idle complaints on the merest trifles, as well as with others serious enough to the complainants, but not coming within my jurisdiction, I am induced to hope that the Maharajah is not closing the door against appeals in cases of legitimate reference, according to the terms of the treaty and the recent orders of Government. Cashmeres are everywhere noted for their litigiousness,

vociferous volubility, and begging propensities. There are many complaints of losses and violence during the late disturbances; but neither during my three days' tour through the south of the valley, or during the last two days in the city, have I heard a whisper against the Maharajah or his Government, except, indeed, from one Jaghirdar, who came to me at Islamabad, to beg my intercession, saying, he heard that it was the intention to confiscate all Jaghires. I hope this is not true; and it will be observed that, in the enclosed translation of a letter which I left for the Maharajah at Shupey on the 6th instant, I referred, among other questions, to Jaghires. I hope the tenor of the letter will be approved. Yesterday evening the Maharajah, alluding to it, remarked that it contained advice that would be good for him both in this world, and in the next; and, while I am writing, Dewan Jewali is telling me that a reply is under preparation, and that all I wish shall be done.

4. Yesterday morning I paid a visit to the Hurree Parbut, and accompanied by Vuzeer Rutnoo and Col. Muttra Das, went over the works and inspected the garrison. The soldiers are about half-and-half Sikhs and Hillmen, and are generally fine, stout, soldierly fellows, quite as much so as any we saw with Sheik Imammoodeen, and scarcely inferior to the average of Lahore troops. The natural position of Hurree Parbut is very strong, but the works are flimsy and ill laid out, and guns can only be worked from below the body of the place. The besieged had only four guns, one an old brass sixteen or eighteen pounder, and three small ones, five and two pounders; one of the latter and a four by five mortar were taken in a sally, during the early part of the siege, by Colonel Muttra Das. There are three tanks for water in the fort, capable, in my opinion, of holding water for three months for a thousand men. By a determined sally, water could always be procured from the city lake or the wells under the fort.

5. On the 8th instant, at Islamabad, I inspected the irregulars that had entered the valley under Vuzeer Rutnoo Chund. They were nominally 2,500, and probably amounted to nearly that number. Accompanied by Captain Brown,

I went down the ranks of more than half, and counted 1,200, and estimated that about 2,000 were on the ground. Five hundred or more were reported gone to bathe, and we could see many coming in as we departed. About 800 were fine, well equipped men, and perhaps 1,000 more were of average quality; the rest were old men and boys. Four or five hundred may have been armed with bows. There were two small guns, about two pounders, and ten _____ with the detachment. On the whole, the appearance and equipment of the men was quite equal to that of any of the contingents lately furnished by either Sikh or Hill chiefs on the frontier. I spoke to the Maharajah as to the objectionability of employing old men and children; he replied that the case just now was one of necessity, that it had always been the practice of the country for each village to furnish so many men; that old men could fire guns; but that he was quite willing to attend to my suggestions in this as in other matters. I propose to see the whole of the troops here, amounting to about 10,000 men, and then those in Huzara, when I shall report generally on the army.

* * * * *

I have also personally and separately questioned seven Rajahs of Iskardot and its neighbourhood, and taken their depositions. They were all within the Hurree Parbut fort during the siege, and all express themselves satisfied with Maharajah Goolab Sing. I repeatedly told them that, if they wished, they had now an opportunity of escape, and of obtaining maintenance in the British territory, but that it could not again be offered; that the Maharajah would be master within his own territory, but that any chief who now declared his desire to emigrate might do so with safety, and under British security of a provision at such station as he might select for his residence. I had some difficulty in making some of these chiefs understand; but taking them first separately, with only their own and my moonshee present, and then having the whole seven together—some of whom speak Persian pretty well—I repeated over and over again my meaning, and got them to do so to each other, and

then caused each individual personally to declare that he understood what was said, and without fear spoke his real sentiments.

* * * * *

I hope much will be effected during the next three days, for which period I have consented to delay my departure. I will then proceed to Lahore and Poona, or Huzara, as may appear necessary, with reference to the several calls on my time. Under any circumstances, one officer will go to Huzara, and one remain here until affairs are brought into some order, but I doubt the advantage of permanently leaving an officer with the Maharajah, though, perhaps, it may prove useful to depute a respectable Native Agent, who can keep Government informed without being an incubus on the local authorities, and detracting from their credit without himself having any real authority.

The following communication to Mr. Currie touches on a point of some interest, on which Lawrence negotiated with the new Maharajah :—

15th November, 1846.

At this interview the Maharajah expressed his entire willingness to put down both infanticide and suttee; the first crime he agreed to make penal by proclamation: but, he remarked, he was not yet strong enough to insist upon the abolition of suttee, though he would do all in his power to prevent the rite, by giving maintenance to widows, and preventing his own connection from burning their females. If he holds to this promise, it will be sufficient, for suttee is seldom performed in the hills, except in families of rank. It is, I believe, true that the Maharajah has hitherto disengaged the rite; but the crime of infanticide is supposed to be much practised in his family. His proclamations, however, against it must be useful, and I shall take every fitting opportunity of following up the opening gained in the question of suttee, which I explained was contrary to the Shastra, and had already been publicly forbidden by the Jeypoor Durbar.

As soon as Goolab Sing had been established in power, Henry Lawrence, "with his usual energy," as Lord Hardinge describes it, returned at once to Lahore. The next thing to be done was to bring Lal Sing to solemn trial and exposure before all the Sikh chiefs, for his complicity with Imamoodeen in the treacherous opposition to Goolab Sing, the defeated "Sheik" having turned King's evidence against his late accomplice. He had already placed in Lawrence's hand three original documents, purporting to be instructions from Lal Sing to the Sheik to oppose Goolab Sing; and to the officers and soldiers in Cashmere, to be faithful and obedient to the orders of the Sheik. The strange and novel proceeding of this trial, conducted by the Sikh chiefs themselves, in presence of Henry Lawrence and Mr. Currie, the Secretary to Government, are best described in the words of the former's report to Government, in the person of Mr. Currie, who is somewhat awkwardly addressed, having himself taken part in the trial :—

Lahore, 17th December 1846.

1. Mr. John Lawrence's last letter of Punjaub intelligence reported the state of affairs up to the 22nd November, since which but one topic has engaged the attention of the Durbar, the Sirdars, and the people, viz. Rajah Lal Sing's share in the Cashmere rebellion.
2. In reporting the circumstances of his fall, I am obliged for perspicuity's sake to glance at much that has already been recorded.
3. On the 1st December you arrived at Lahore; and it was no longer doubtful that an inquiry was to take place. The Rajah and the Ranee were in great distress; the former holding private interviews from morning to night, the latter consulting the astrologers, and sacrificing to the gods in favour of the Rajah.

4. On the 2nd December a grand Durbar was held to receive you, and you delivered a Persian letter from the Right Honourable the Governor-General to his Highness the Maharajah. On the evening of the same day the Ministers and Sirdars paid you a visit of ceremony in your own tent; and you took the opportunity of requesting Fukeer Noorood-deen to read aloud for general information the letter received from the Governor-General; and again translated its contents orally in Oordoo yourself to the assembly.

5. The letter in question congratulated his Highness on the happy and peaceful termination of the Cashmere rebellion, which at one time threatened to disturb the friendly relations now existing between the Lahore and British Governments, by violating the terms of the treaty so lately made at Lahore. It proceeded to inform the Maharajah the Sheik Imamnoodeen had, at last, only given himself up to the British authorities on their promise that the causes of the rebellion should be investigated; for he solemnly declared that he had acted under orders from Lahore in resisting the transfer of Cashmere to Maharajah Goolab Sing. Finally, it pointed out the necessity of such an investigation, to prove the truth or falsehood of the Sheik's allegations.

6. The Sirdars and Ministers were, accordingly, informed that on the following morning, the 3rd December, at 8 A.M., a Court of Inquiry would assemble at your Durbar tent. The Court was to be perfectly open to all, and the Sirdars, of all degrees, were invited to attend.

7. At the appointed hour next day the Court assembled, constituted as follows:—

PRESIDENT:

F. Currie, Esq., *Secretary to Government.*

MEMBERS:

Lieut.-Colonel Lawrence, C.B., A.G.G.

M. General Sir John Littler, K.C.B., *Commanding the Garrison.*

John Lawrence, Esq., C.S., *Commissioner, Jullunder.*

Lieut.-Colonel Goldie, *Commanding 12th Native Infantry.*

Rajah Lal Sing, Dewan Dena Natta, Sirdar Tej Sing, Khuleefah Noorooddeen, Sirdar Ultur Sing Kalchwaluh, Sirdar Sher Sing Utáreeewaluh, and a large assemblage of other Sirdars attended, as did also Sheik Imammodeen and his officers.

8. The particulars of the trial you have already reported fully to Government, and need not be repeated; suffice it that the Sheik, being called on to make his statement, boldly denounced Rajah Lal Sing as the instigator of the rebellion in Cashmere; and three papers (two to his own address, and one addressed to the Sheik's troops) were produced in evidence—all signed by the Rajah. The most significant of the papers, viz. that addressed to the troops, was acknowledged by the Rajah; and the other two, though denied, were, in the opinion of the Court, fully established to be genuine also. The evidence, indeed, was most conclusive; the defence, miserably weak; and, after two sittings, the Court, on the 4th instant, pronounced a unanimous sentence of "guilty" against the Rajah.

9. When this was communicated by you to the rest of the Ministers and the principal Sirdars, they acknowledged, more candidly than might have been expected, the impossibility of the Rajah any longer being Vizeer; and his deposition once determined on, he seemed to pass altogether from their minds, or only to be remembered as a large Jaghirdar, whose income must be recovered to the State without delay. Dewan Dena Natta, the most practical man in the Ministry, who had single-handed defended the Rajah in the face of facts to the last moment, as soon as the verdict was pronounced, passed on without a remark to the necessary arrangements for securing his relatives, Misr Umeer Chund and Misr Bughman Doss, who held extensive districts in the provinces, and were defaulters to a large amount. This indifference to Rajah Lal Sing's fate is to be accounted for by his policy in the Vizarut; instead of trying, as any sensible man in his position would have done, to make himself popular with the Sirdars, "and win golden opinions from all sorts of men," by attending to the interests of the Khâlsa, and administering the revenues

with liberality, he early took the first step to his downfall by acting as if he considered it certain, and laying up ill-gotten stores against the evil day. He discharged as many of the old Sikh soldiers as he could, and entertained in their places foreigners from his own country and Hindostan; and, while reducing the Jaghires of the Sirdars, on the plea of public poverty, he appropriated enormous grants himself, or lavished them on his relatives and servants. As a Minister, therefore, the Rajah failed to conciliate either the chiefs or the army, and, as a private character, he was personally odious to the Sikh people, for his intrigue with Runjeet's widow; or, as they regard her the mother of the Khâlsa, my firm opinion is, that his life would not have lasted one month after⁹ her departure from Lahore. It is due, however, to Rajah Lal Sing to state, that throughout the British occupation of Lahore, his attention to the wants and comforts of our troops, and his civility and kindness to the officers, could not have been exceeded. Had he carried this policy into his civil administration, and accepted our advice in matters of more moment, he would have secured his own fortunes and re-established the Maharajah's.

10. Attended by the rest of the Durbar, I then went to the Palace: and the result of the investigation and removal of Lal Sing from the Vizarut was communicated to the Maharanee by Fukeer Noorooddeen and Dena Natta.

11. The charge of the Palace was at this time made over to Sirdar Sher Sing Utâreewaluh, brother-in-law of the Maharajah, who has gained considerable credit lately by his spirited administration at Peshawur and active co-operation with Maharajah Goolab Sing in suppressing the Cashmere rebellion. Meanwhile, the Rajah himself was conducted by Lieutenant Edwardes from the tent wherein the Court was held to his own house within the city, escorted by another detachment of the above-mentioned "body-guard."

12. To prevent even the slightest stoppage of public business, the powers of Government were, as a temporary arrangement, vested in a council of four, viz., Sirdar Tej Sing, Sirdar Sher Sing, Dewan Dena Natta, and Fukeer

Noorooddeen ; and circular orders were immediately issued by the Durbar to all the Kardars in the kingdom, informing them of the Vuzeer's deposition for treason to his sovereign ; and that no Purwannahs were to be obeyed which did not bear the four seals of the Council.

13. On the morning of the 18th December, Rajah Lal Sing was removed to Ferozepore, under charge of Lieutenant Wroughton, 12th Native Infantry, escorted by the 27th Native Infantry Regiment, 200 Sikh sowars, and a company of Sikh infantry.

14. The momentous events I have above recorded were enacted in perfect peace ; perfect quiet reigned in the city and the country. Not a shop was closed or plough laid aside during the trial, deposition, or removal of the Vuzeer ; and those who are acquainted with the past history of this unhappy capital, how factitiously power has usually been seized in it, how bloodily maintained, and with what violence wrested away, will recognize under British occupation of Lahore a public confidence and sense of security as new as it is complete.

15. On the 9th December, you laid before the Durbar a letter from the Right Honourable the Governor-General, reminding them of the time being fast approaching for the departure of the British troops from Lahore, and asking them what arrangements they had made for the future. The receipt of this letter caused the greatest excitement at the Court, the majority of the Sirdars being filled with alarm at the prospect before them, in the event of our withdrawal. Till within the last few days, no one has expressed a more anxious desire for our stay than the Maharanee ; and, even on the day following that on which Rajah Lal Sing was deposed from the Vizarut, and her grief was at the worst, she declared to me, when I called on her, that she would leave the Punjab when we did. A very short time has given a more active—perhaps, a more vindictive—turn to her inclinations, and during the last day or two her whole energies have been devoted to an endeavour to win over the Sirdars of high and low degree, and unite them all together in a scheme of

independent government, of which she herself was to be the head. In this her chief aid and counsellor has ostensibly been Dewan Dena Natta, ever ill-disposed to the English, and now probably contemplating with alarm the possibility of our becoming the guardians of the young Maharajah, and—what he would loss like—the guardians of the exchequer. He has survived many revolutions, in which kings and families, old masters and old friends, have perished; but I doubt if the chancellor of the Punjaub could long survive one which should altogether do away with peculation. Calculating, therefore, on having, when we withdrew, the whole management of affairs in his own hands, he has apparently preferred to run all risks, and joined heartily in the intrigues of the Maharanee: or it may be that, perceiving himself not only in the minority, but that he almost stood alone from the Maharanee, he considered it a point of honour not to abandon her. He is a man both of courage and ability, and has his own notions of fidelity, however they may be opposed to ours. The Sirdars, however, have shown great steadiness and perseverance in the matter; and, headed by Sirdar Tej Sing, the commander-in-chief, and Sirdar Sher Sing, the Maharajah's brother-in-law, have stoutly refused the Queen's proposal, to sign and send a letter to the British, declaring her the head of the government, and their readiness to obey all her orders. The debate was renewed morning and evening, and lasted till the 14th December, eliciting strange philippics and recriminations, and even abuse, within the Palace, and usually ending in the Sirdars rising and retiring in a body, saying, that the Queen wished to bring ruin on her son and all the Khâlsa; that she might act as she pleased; but, for their parts, the Palace was no place for respectable men, and that they would cross the Sutlej with the British troops. Accordingly, they seemed to have left Dena Natta to write an answer to the Governor-General's letter, in what terms he chose; and, no sooner had it been sent, than messages from various Sirdars came to disown all participation in its composition. Sirdar Sher Sing, in particular, whose near relationship to the Maharajah makes it his strongest interest

to do what seems best for the stability of the Punjab as an independent kingdom, applied to me for a private interview on the subject, and sent me a paper explanatory of his wishes. Standing studiously aloof from the intrigues of the Court, I declined the private interview, but perused the paper, and, strange to say, it proposed the unreserved committal of the kingdom to British guardianship, till such time as the young sovereign comes to maturity; pointing out, with much good sense, the necessity of reviewing fairly the whole resources of the kingdom, and portioning out the Jaghires, establishments, and expenses accordingly.

16. It was evident, therefore, that in the written answer to the Governor-General's letter, we had not got what his lordship desired, viz. an honest expression of the wants, wishes, and opinions of the great body of the chiefs, who, during the boyhood of the Maharajah, are the natural representatives of the State; and you thought it best to assemble all the Sirdars together, and give them an opportunity of speaking their mind, unbiassed by the Maharauee's persuasion and abuse.

17. On the 15th December a Durbar was held for this purpose in my camp, and was more fully attended than any state meeting I have yet seen at Lahore; the momentous importance of the occasion to "the Khâlsa" having, in addition to the Ministers and principal Sirdars, drawn many petty chiefs, officers, and yeomen to the spot. An Akâlee, in the full costume of his order, with high blue turban, wreathed with steel quoits and crescents, was quite a new figure in this deliberative assembly, and showed that all ranks took an interest in the business of the day..

18. Instructions from the Governor-General having reached you just as the Assembly met, you were enabled again to state plainly to the chiefs the terms on which alone his lordship would consent to leave British troops at Lahore for the assistance of the Durbar, after the time fixed by the treaty of last March. It was repeated to them, therefore, that his lordship would be best pleased could they assure him of their ability to carry on the government alone, unsupported, except by

the sincere friendship of the British; but, if they thought this was impossible, and they called on the Governor-General to interfere and actively assist them, they must understand that his interference would be complete, *i.e.*, he would occupy Lahore, or any other part of the Punjab, with what force he thought advisable; a stipulated sum of money being paid monthly into the British treasury for the expenses of the same; and, further, that the whole civil and military administration of the Punjab would be subject to the supervision of a British Resident, though conducted by the Durbar and executive officers appointed by them. This arrangement was to hold good till the maturity of the young Maharajah, when the British troops would retire from the Punjab, and the British Government recognize its perfect independence.

19. This proposition being communicated to the Assembly, Dewan Dena Natta expressed a wish to adjourn, in order that they might take the opinion of the Maharanees; but you informed him that the Governor-General was not asking the opinion of the Queen-Mother, but of the Sirdars and pillars of the State; and, to enable them to discuss the matter among themselves, and come to an unbiassed opinion, I retired with you into another tent, and left them to themselves.

20. The fixed sum proposed by you to be paid yearly for the expenses of the British troops was twenty-four lakhs of rupees, and we were soon informed by messengers that this was the only point on which there was any debate; presently, a deputation of five or six of the principal Sirdars came to propose a reduction of this sum, as a point of friendship; and after canvassing the matter, with reference to the resources of the country, it was at last agreed to fix it at twenty-two lakhs per annum. The consent of each member of the deputation was then asked separately, and written down by my Meer Monshee, in presence of yourself and my assistant, Lieutenant Edwardes. We then returned to the Assembly in the other tent, and the same form was observed to every Sirdar and officer of high or low degree, fifty-one in number, considered eligible to vote; and, though there were not a few in that Durbar who were foremost among the war-

party at this time last year, it is gratifying to know that, on this occasion, not one dissentient voice—not one who did not prefer British protection to a short-lived, anarchical independence. The next day (the 16th) was then settled for discussing details, and the Assembly was broken up.

Yesterday afternoon (H. Lawrence reports to Mr. Currie, the 22nd December, from Lahore) I went to Durbar, and found twenty or so of the principal chiefs and officers assembled in the Shah Mahul, opposite the Maharanee's screen, close to which a chair was placed for me. Her Highness then, in an audible voice, expressed her thankfulness to Government for the arrangements that had been made, which, she observed, had saved her own and her son's life, and had secured her throne. She repeated these speeches several times, and reminded us that when Mr. Currie was last here, and I had told her that we were ready to march at the expiration of the present year, she had replied, that if we went, she would go too, as with us alone had she found safety. After some desultory conversation and rest, I then returned with the Council to transact business. It must not be considered that the Maharanee's words altogether expressed her feelings. . . . I am aware that she is rather submitting to what she perceives is inevitable than that she is really pleased with present arrangements. I do not mean that she is dissatisfied at our remaining at Lahore; on the contrary, I have a sort of doubt that she would have given anything—even to half the kingdom, except the supreme authority—to have induced us to stand fast; and I even believe that she prefers her present condition with us to supremacy without our protection. At first she was very angry, and gave vent to her feelings in abuse of Sirdar Tej Sing and the chiefs; but, by holding together and reasoning with her, they seem to have brought her to some sort of reason. I hear that Tej Sing told her that, if she would only keep quiet, and not commit herself before the world, he would be her brother and her friend; but that, if she persisted in violence and nonsense, he would have nothing to say to her.

The final result of these proceedings was, that the independence of the Punjab was prolonged by the so-called Treaty of Byrowal, subject to the continued occupation of the capital by British troops :—

The interposition of British influence (so the Governor-General declared) will be exercised for the advantage of the people ; and the success of this interposition will be assisted by the confidence and cordiality with which the Sirdars will co-operate with the British Resident. That officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, is well known to the chiefs by his energy, talents, and integrity ; by these qualities he has conciliated their goodwill and respect. A Council of Regency, composed of leading chiefs, will act under the control and guidance of the British Resident. The Council will consist of eight Sirdars, and the members will not be changed without the consent of the British Resident, acting under the orders of the Governor-General. The power of the Resident extends over every department, and to any extent. A military force may be placed in such forts and posts, and of such strength, within the Lahore territory, as the Governor-General may determine. These terms give the British Resident unlimited authority in all matters of internal administration and external relation during the Maharajah's minority, which would terminate on the 4th September 1854.

To these conditions all the chiefs, in number fifty-two, assented ; and thus Henry Lawrence was left, in all but name, the master—uncontrolled, save by the Supreme Government at Calcutta—of the magnificent realm of the Five Rivers, the kingdom of Porus, the original India of the Greeks and Persians.

The summary of the narrative of this eventful year may be concluded—as regards himself—in an extract of a letter from his brother, George Lawrence, to Henry's wife, Honoria, in England :—

Henry is looking well, and I think is better than usual,

the trip to Cashmere, he says, quite set him up; and the Governor-General remarked lately, that knocking about seemed to do him good. It was very gratifying to me to see the high estimation in which he is evidently held by the chiefs, and, indeed, by all parties. I have never yet heard one dissenting voice as to his being the very man for his present berth. I was much struck with the peace and confidence which pervades all ranks, both in city and country, and could not have believed that one short year would have done so much. The officers freely admit that it was entirely to Henry's energy and promptitude in repairing in person to Cashmere that matters there were brought to an amicable adjustment.

. As regards the country which he had administered, Mr. Arnold, in his *History of Lord Dalhousie's Administration of British India*, thus sums up the results of Lord Hardinge's Government:—

Writing on the Ganges, in the last month of 1847, the Governor-General was able to report the Punjab to the Secret Committee as perfectly tranquil; but, for the perilous passions of the Queen-Mother, he could boast to make over the Peninsula free from any disturbing cause. . . . Our supremacy beyond the Sutlej was declared to be as real as if it were loaded with the real responsibilities of annexation.

It must, however, be added, that this apparent tranquillity was purchased at no trifling cost of military expenditure.

Well aware that the Sikhs were to be trusted as far as their fears, Lord Hardinge doubled the garrison of the North-West. He left on this and that side of the Sutlej more than 50,000 men and 60 guns.

How short-lived were the hopes entertained by the more sanguine class of observers of the durability of

the system of protection thus established in the Punjab is now matter of history. "The problem has yet to be solved," wrote Mr. Thomason, whose word in those days was, in India, as that of Achitophel at Jerusalem, "how we can give to a tottering empire such a blow as the Sikhs have received from us, and yet leave them independent."

Hardinge certainly evinced no flourishing anticipations as to the result. That Henry Lawrence could not entertain such, whatever confidence he might affect, is evident from a singular passage (singular in relation to the circumstances of the time), in which, writing an article on the "Kingdom of Oudh" in 1846, he had predicted the all but inevitable fate of such a system as he was called on in 1846 to administer. We have seen already, and may see again, how his literary speculations, seasoned with love of controversy and strong taste for political disquisition, contained in the periodicals of his time, when read by the light of subsequent events, sometimes invite inconvenient comparisons between the prediction of the writer and the performance of the statesman :—

Much casuistry was expended some years ago in defence of the Dewani, or double government, system, which was at best but one of the poor cloaks of expediency, and was gradually thrown off as our strength increased. The subsidiary and protected system is, if possible, worse. If ever there was a device for ensuring mal-government, it is that of a Native ruler and minister both relying on foreign bayonets, and directed by a British Resident; even if all three were able, virtuous, and considerate, still the wheels of government could hardly move smoothly. If it be difficult to select one man, European or Native, with all the requisites for a just administrator, where are three who can and will

work together to be found? Each of the three may work incalculable mischief, but no one of them can do good if thwarted by the other. It is almost impossible for the minister to be faithful and submissive to his prince, and at the same time to be honest to the British Government; and how rarely is the European officer to be found, who, with ability to guide a Native state, has the discretion and good feeling to keep himself in the background—to prompt and sustain every salutary measure within his reach, while he encourages the ruler and minister by giving them all the credit—to be the adviser, and not the master—to forget self in the good of the people and of the protected sovereign! Human nature affords few such men; and, therefore, were there no other reason, we should be chary of our interference.

The beginning of the year 1847 thus found Henry Lawrence in peaceful possession of viceregal authority over the province. In the duties which devolved upon him, he was assisted by a staff of subordinates such as has very rarely been collected under the superintendence of any single chieftain of the political-military order, of which India furnishes the most remarkable and instructive specimens. It was thus he spoke of them himself, in a letter written at a later time to his friend Sir John Kaye, and printed by the latter in his *Lives of Indian Officers*, vol. ii. p. 288:—

I was very fortunate in my assistants, all of whom were my friends, and almost every one was introduced into the Punjab through me. George Lawrence, Macgregor, James Abbot, Edwardes, Lumsden, Nicholson, Taylor, Cocks, Hodson, Pollock, Bowring, Henry Coxe, and Melville, are men such as you will seldom see anywhere, but when collected under one administration were worth double and treble the number taken at haphazard. Each was a good man: the most were excellent officers. My chief help,

however, was in my brother John, without whom I should have had difficulty in carrying on.

Of the names inscribed in this list, that of Nicholson is preserved as belonging to one of the most heroic officers who ever fell in the service of this country. That of Edwardes appeals to still more recent memory. Of Lord Lawrence it is unnecessary to speak. Indian public opinion does justice to the remainder. On the whole, it may be said that the Punjab officials, trained in the school of the Lawrences, formed a class apart, whose fame is preserved in tradition to this day.

As Resident at Lahore, Henry Lawrence has enjoyed an interval of some months, not indeed from incessant labour, but from the harassing and incessant intrigues of the Durbar, reduced at last to sullen acquiescence in the British protection, which they hated even while they craved for it. I find little of general interest in his papers devoted to details of military arrangement, revenue settlement, and negotiation with frontier chiefs. One or two of Lord Hardinge's kindly letters will describe the general character of his employment even better than his own :—

SIR H. HARDINGE to SIR H. LAWRENCE.

April 16th, 1847.

As regards the frontier opposite Dinapore, you had some communication with Mr. Thomason on your way to the Sutlej, and recommended a work to be thrown up. I dislike all fortified works in an Empire like India. Our system must be offensive, and not defensive. Still I admit a safe place for the civil authorities and scattered European establishments to fall back upon; a safe dépôt for ammunition, stores, &c., on a small scale, and well retired from the frontier, may be a judicious arrangement, and if so, it ought

to be arranged quietly now, and not at the moment of pressure.

Let us have as much information as you can on the revenues and resources of the Punjab. Edwardes, Nicholson, and your brother, each in the districts he has visited, give a wretched account of the natural impediments which must under any government, however ably administered, render the Punjab a poverty-stricken acquisition. I was much struck with Agnew's memorandum on the Huzara country. Can the fact be true, that in two of the five districts of that country the armed men are estimated from 35,000 to 50,000, whilst the revenue of the five districts is only 30,000*l.* a year? . . . Last month I wrote to Hobhouse officially, again recommending you to be a Civil K.C.B. of the Bath, and also Currie. . . . Let me know what you say now, after three months' experience of your government, and a more intimate knowledge of the resources of the country, whether the policy of March 1846 was right; and whether that of December 1846 will stand the test of time—that is, for seven years?

It appears as if Henry Lawrence, at this time, had come round to views rather less unfavourable to annexation than those entertained by his chief.

Same to Same.

May 17th, 1847.

The Major's letter (George Lawrence, at Peshawur) is one of the best letters I ever read. If I were not apprehensive of Sikh prejudices and natural jealousies, I would place him in Huxtable's position at Peshawur. I am sure you will do right to give him as much power as you can without offence to the Durbar. I am rejoiced that I appointed him, and persisted, notwithstanding the objection to a triumvirate of Lawrences beyond the border.

It is quite proper that you should, in all your official despatches, honestly and truly report not only facts, but your own impressions of passing events and future liabilities in the Punjab; consequently, when I remark that your letter of the

29th April will cause some uneasiness at home, I make no objection to your hints of coming events which cast their shadows before ; but I shall be very glad if you would well weigh and consider whether the anticipated disloyalty and possible disturbances to which you point are the result of the system adopted last December, with the sanction of the Sikh nation, or whether they would have been more easily avoided by direct and immediate annexation. In my opinion, the cause of discontent would have been infinitely greater by the positive degradation to which the last of the Hindoo dynasties would have been subjected by the ill-humour of some disappointed chiefs who have saved their Jaghires, and their army rank as colonels and generals, by British protection conferred upon them at their own earnest solicitation to save the Rajah. To me it appears that all the elements of treason and violence would have been still more active under a system of absolute annexation, which the chiefs well knew would despoil them of power never to return. The temper of Eastern chiefs may perhaps submit at once to a great evil, and call it fate or destiny, when they will feel and resist against a state of things infinitely more favourable to their dignity and hopes ; and it is probably very difficult for an European to argue upon the impulses by which Eastern people form their resolutions in political emergencies, and act upon them resolutely.

Then, again, if we are to consider the possible consequences arising out of the system adopted as regards our men, surely their allegiance is more likely to be preserved by saving than by destroying the last of the Hindoo dynasties. Whether it be national or religious, it would be much more likely to display itself in the mode to which you allude by annexation than by protection. When deported beyond the Indus, they would be called upon to perform a service which they detest. Their personal interests and their alleged religious feelings might then sympathize with a kindred people, and, concentrated in large bodies at Lahore and Peshawur, ferment with treason. These dangers, which, in my opinion, are remote, will be eventually the cause of our loss of this Empire, and would be aggravated by annexation.

. . . I am writing in a hill fort as fast as I can trace my words, having, my dear Lawrence, no reserve with you.

The next letter seems to express Henry Lawrence's hopes of the future rather than his convictions. It is published in the Punjab Blue Book of 1849 :—

LAWRENCE to CURRIE (*Secretary to Government*).

Lahore, June 2, 1847.

With the experience of fourteen months, I can certify to this people having settled down in a manner that could never have been hoped or believed of them; but yet they have not lost their spirit. To this fact I frequently testified last year, and commented on their bold and manly bearing. A large majority of the disbanded soldiers have returned to the plough or to trade; but there are still very many floating on the surface of society; and, such is the fickleness of the national character, and so easily are they led by their priests and pundits, and so great is their known pride of race, and of a long unchecked career of victory, that if every Sirdar and Sikh in the Punjab were to avow himself satisfied with the humbled position of his country, it would be the extreme of infatuation to believe him, or to doubt for a moment that, among the crowd who are loudest in our praise, there are many who cannot forgive our victory, or even our forbearance, and who chafe at their own loss of power, in exact proportion as they submit to ours. But this was not to be avoided, and so far from being a discouraging feature of our position, is the best assurance we can have of our strength, while it proves, whoever our secret enemies may be, they can neither find a weak point nor an opportunity.

At no period of Anglo-Indian history has any great conquest or crisis been immediately followed by complete peace and security in the countries annexed to our dominion, or by the universal good-will of a people whom we had beaten in the field. The opposite error to over-confidence is, however, not less mischievous. People here are partial to quoting the Kabul catastrophe, and, unfortunately, have too often the example set by those among ourselves who should

know better than to consider the British position at Lahore in any point comparable with that at Cabul. Here, however, as there, our fate is in our own hands. I do not disguise from myself that our position at Lahore will always be a delicate one ; benefits are soon forgotten, and little gratitude is to be expected. Moreover, there are the daily refusals, the necessary resumptions, the repressing, or patching up, of domestic squabbles ; all leaving behind them more or less of ill will, petty enough in detail, but in the mass sufficient powerfully to affect, for years to come, the movements of any honest administration in the Punjab. I do not know that the Sirdars and officials of this kingdom are naturally more evil disposed than those of any other part of India ; but their country is certainly more backward in civilization ; was but the other day reclaimed from a state of the most ignorant barbarism ; and has been but little subjected to the wholesome restraints of a regular government.

In the course of the summer, however, the prospect began still more to darken. The continued intrigues of the Maharanee rendered it, in Henry Lawrence's view, necessary that she should be separated from her son, the young Maharajah Dhuleep Sing. But when it came to the question in what manner the banished princess was to be disposed of, national and tribal pride, private interests, personal attachments and personal jealousies rendered the counsels of the chiefs so distracted as to be nearly unavailable. I add, as delineating Henry Lawrence's part in this transaction, the Proclamation in which he announced it to the Sikh chiefs and nation, and Lord Hardinge's private letter of approval :

A GENERAL PROCLAMATION for the Information of the CHIEFS
of the LAHORE DURBAR, the PRIESTS, ELDERS, and PEOPLE
of the Countries belonging to Maharajah Dhuleep Sing.

THE Right Honourable the Governor-General of India, taking into consideration the friendly relations subsisting between

the Lahore and British Governments, and the tender age of Maharajah Dhuleep Sing, feels the interest of a father in the education and guardianship of the young Prince.

With this end in view, it appeared to the Governor-General to have become absolutely necessary to separate the Maharajah from the Maharanee his mother, an opinion in which the Durbar perfectly coincided; and accordingly, on the 19th day of August 1847, her Highness left the Palace of Lahore and was taken to Sheikhopoorah.

The reasons for this step are shortly these:—

First. That at the time of the making of the Treaty of Byrowal it was considered necessary to exclude her Highness the Maharanee from all share in the administration of the public affairs; and that she should have a separate maintenance appointed her, to enable her to pass the rest of her life in honourable retirement. Notwithstanding this, her Highness has ever since been intriguing to disturb the government, and carried her opposition to the Ministers so far as quite to embarrass and impede the public business.

Secondly. The Maharajah is now a child, and he will grow up in the way that he is trained. It was only too probable, therefore, that his mother would instil into him her own bitter feelings of hostility to the Chiefs; and that he would have thus grown up at variance with the Sirdars and Ministers of his kingdom. This could not be allowed. The young Prince should be reared up in the cultivation of every natural and acquired excellence of mind and disposition; so that, at the expiration of the present treaty, peace should be preserved by the kindly understanding existing between the Maharajah and all classes of his subjects,—a blessing which could not be hoped for if the young Prince remained with his mother.

Thirdly. So long as her Highness the Maharanee occupied the Lahore Palace strangers visited her without restriction; and every seditious intriguer who was displeased with the present order of things looked up to the Queen-Mother as the head of the State; some of them even went so far as to plan the subversion of the restored Khalsa government.

Let all ranks, therefore, rejoice throughout the kingdom that the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India has so much at heart the peace and security of this country, the firm establishment of the estate, and the honour of the Mahārajah and his Ministers.

(True Translation.)

(Signed) H. B. EDWARDES,
Assistant to President.

(True Copy.)

Lahore, 20th August 1847

From LORD HARDINGE to HENRY LAWRENCE.

August 14th, 1847.

. . . Nothing can be more satisfactory than the manner in which you have carried the removal of the Malvarance into execution. I entirely approve of the judicious terms in which the proclamation was worded. Her Highness's seclusion at Shikarpore is, in my view, preferable to a more distant banishment. It avoids the national affront of parading the mother of all the Sikhs through Hindostan, and will reconcile the Sikh people to the step ; and as we cannot publish all we know of her misconduct, but must justify the step on the expediency of the separation, the less any of the measures taken have the appearance of punishment the better. In this sense don't reduce her pension too low. It was granted at the time the treaty was signed, and the Ranees ceased to be Regent. The resolution should not deprive her of any comforts and luxuries to which, as the Prince's mother, she may be entitled ; on the other hand, she should not have the means of offering large bribes. Her Highness must be warned that on the first occasion of her entering into intrigues other and more serious steps must be taken.

In all our measures (says the Governor-General in a subsequent letter) taken during the minority we must bear in mind that by the Treaty of Lahore, March 1846, the Punjaub never was intended to be an independent State. By the clause I added, the chief of the State can neither make war or peace, or exchange or sell an acre of territory, or admit of a

European officer, or refuse us a thoroughfare through his territories, or, in fact, perform any act (except its own internal administration) without our permission. In fact, the native Prince is in fetters, and under our protection, and must do our bidding. I advert hastily to this point because, if I have any difference of opinion with you, it consists in your liberality in attempting at too early a period to train the Sikh authorities to walk alone ; I wish them to feel and to like our direct interference by the benefits conferred.—(Oct. 23, 1847.)

Having accomplished this difficult measure of policy, Henry Lawrence found himself obliged by the state of his health to intermit his hitherto incessant labour. He had suffered from the trial of the hot weather of 1846, and the recurring months of Punjab summer now visited him severely. He was beginning to pay the penalty exacted of her most energetic servants, not so much by the climate of India, as by the exertions demanded in that climate of those who sacrifice themselves by crowding the labours of years into the compass of a few busy months. He left Lahore for British India on the 21st August, leaving his brother John, as Acting Resident, to carry out the measures which he had organized for the government of the country, and especially for the suppression of slave-dealing, "suttee," and infanticide. On the 17th October we find him again at his post at Lahore ; but in a few weeks he left it, and quitted India on sick-leave for England. In this homeward journey he was the companion of his attached friend Lord Hardinge, who had been superseded by the appointment of Lord Dalhousie to succeed him as Governor-General, but had waited at Calcutta until the arrival of his successor, Lord Dalhousie.

On his homeward voyage, Lord Hardinge addressed the following letter to Sir John Hobhouse, afterwards

Lord Broughton, then President of the Board of Control, on behalf of his comrade:—

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—

Aden, Feb. 8, 1848.

... I am anxious to say a few words to you on a subject which you formerly received with favour. I allude to the distinction of the K.C.B. for Colonel Lawrence. I have no objects to urge as regards myself, and his claims are so strong and so just that even if I had I should wish his to take the precedence. I should be made most happy if, on his return to England, he could be rewarded by this mark of her Majesty's favour. Since the war closed, early in 1846, his labours have been incessant and most successful. His personal energies, his moral force of character, were admirably displayed by leading the Sikh forces into the Cashmere passes in the autumn of 1846; a force scarcely recovered from mutiny to their own government and hostility to us, and he has, since the treaty, as you know, administered the government of the Punjab with great ability and complete success. This is the last act of conscientious duty towards a most deserving officer, and there is no one of the many officers whom I have left behind me in India who has such good pretensions to the favour of Government as my good friend Colonel Lawrence, and there is nothing which you can do for me which will give me more pleasure than to see him honoured as he deserves.

Henry Lawrence reached England in March 1848, and Lord Hardinge's recommendation was carried into execution by his appointment to the rank of K.C.B. on the 28th April.

He spent his holiday between England and Ireland, in the society of relatives and friends; but I have not been able to ascertain any particulars of his stay at home, the necessity for writing letters having for the time ceased.

From this enjoyment of his long-deferred repose Sir Henry (as he may henceforth be styled) was aroused

by the tidings of the new outbreak in the Punjab, which ended in the second Sikh war. I will not revert to the narrative of events which have occupied so many pens. Suffice it for my present purpose that the murder of our two brave officers, Vans Agnew and Anderson, at Mooltan, took place in April 1848, and the tidings of it reached England before summer had begun. Lawrence was immediately on the alert.

He felt (says his friend, Sir John Kaye), that his proper place was where the war was raging. He had not yet regained his health : loving friends and wise physicians alike counselled him that there was danger in a precipitate return to India ; but he knew that there would have been greater danger in a protracted sojourn in England, for, inactive at such a time, he would have chafed himself to death. But, for a man devoted, above all things, to his duty, he had a stronger call on him than any impulse of his own could have furnished.

In his article on Napier's "Misgovernment of India" (*Calcutta Review*, 1854), written in his own name, he informs us how Lord Broughton procured him an interview with the Duke of Wellington, which ended in the duke's saying, "that he ought to return to the Punjab." "I expressed my readiness," he adds, "and wrote to the Court (of Directors), offering to go at once. They replied, politely ignoring me, and leaving me to act on my own judgment, as I was on medical certificate. I was disappointed, but perceived no hostility in the Court's act." "The Company," says Sir John Kaye, in his comment on this circumstance, "was a good master, but very chary of gracious words."⁴ I subjoin the official communication itself; and must say that I think there was a little "touchiness" in Sir Henry's criticism on it. To dissect closely the style of

every communication from a busy office is over-particular. Many a correspondent weighs and ponders over every word of its contents, as if each had its special covert meaning ; when, in point of fact, the colour is given by the clerk who happens to hold the pen, and who can hardly be supposed at all times capable of distinguishing between the reverence appropriate for a hero and the courtesy due to an ordinary mortal :—

SIR,

East India House, July 29, 1848.

I HAVE laid before the Court of Directors of the East India Company your letter of the 10th instant, stating that if, under present circumstances, the Court consider that your services can be of any use on the Indus, you are ready to proceed to India in such time as to be available to accompany any force that may take the field in November, in any capacity that the Governor-General may see fit.

In reply, I have received the Court's commands to state that they are very sensible of the zeal for the service which has dictated this proposal ; but that they leave it to yourself to decide on the time of your return to India within the term of your furlough on sick certificate.

I am desired to add that, should your health permit of your return, the Court are persuaded that the Government of India will gladly avail themselves of your services in that manner which shall appear to them to be most conducive to the public interests.

Before, however, Lawrence could make ready to leave his native country, post after post had brought tidings of the spread of the disaffection and continuance of the outbreak. There came the news of the gallant and fortunate maintenance by Edwardes and his "forlorn hope" of their distant post on the Indus ; "like a terrier," as he said himself, "barking at a tiger :" his victories at Kinneyree and Suddoozain (June and July), and the unsuccessful first siege of

Mooltan by General Whish. It was plain to most observers that the earth was heaving with all the preliminary tokens of a general convulsion ; that the strange theocratic commonwealth of the " Khalsa," at once an idea and a fact, was to make one more struggle for existence and supremacy ; that the intrigues of the ambitious slave-girl, the mother of Goolab Sing, whom our odd Western notions of propriety invested with the attributes of queen-mother, had been so far successful as to arouse against us an amount of rebellious feeling on which we had in no degree calculated. It was clear enough, moreover, to those familiar with the Indian character, that the absence of Lawrence himself, who had already obtained an extraordinary influence over the Sikh mind, was operating most prejudicially. For his own part, he had acquired, by close intimacy, so much regard for those among whom he had lived and governed for the last three years, that he almost to the end remained incredulous, not, of course, as to the reality, but as to the extent and depth of the rebellious element with which the British Government had to contend.⁵

If Sir Henry was sensitive about his personal influence and reputation, as no doubt he was to an extent not very compatible with his personal comfort, he must have appreciated the assiduous consultations to which he was at this time subjected by the India Board authorities at home, by his friend Lord

⁵ I have before me a newspaper copy of Lord Dalhousie's famous Minute on leaving India, to which Sir Henry has affixed some very cut marginal remarks. To the words, "The murder of the British officer at Mooltan," he has appended, "Not by Sikhs." To the somewhat stilted indictment against the Sikh nation in paragraph three of the Minute, "But when it was seen that the spirit of the whole Sikh people was inflamed by the bitterest animosity against us," &c., he notes in the margin the simple word, "No."

Hardinge, and by Lord Dalhousie writing from India. Already the ominous question of "annexation," as a necessary penalty for the Sikh revolt, was looming in the horizon ; and, with his own feelings wholly adverse to that solution of the question, he may have been somewhat perplexed by the contradictory manifestations of opinion which he received confidentially, almost at the same time, from his former and his present master.

LORD HARDINGE to SIR HENRY LAWRENCE.

August 7, 1848.

If the Sikh Chiefs and the army are so infatuated as to try their fate by a last and desperate appeal to arms, the result cannot for a moment be doubtful. The mischief may be attributed to the policy ; but annexation is occupation, and involves the dispersion of the forces in the Punjab, and as it would not prevent insurrection, we should in that case, when it broke out, be cramped in our movements in proportion to the number of dispersed posts occupied by the British army. . . . The possession of artillery by the Sikh insurgents is the only advantage which the treaty gave them, and of which they would have been deprived by annexation ; but the motives for a national rising would have been strong —now, they are unintelligible. . . . Our next difficulty would be, what sort of an annexation can be devised more secure than that which tempted the Sikh chiefs and soldiery to be faithful for five years on their own entreaty, and on terms for their sect and Prince the most favourable that could be devised.

LORD DALHOUSIE to the Same.

. . . There are considerations beyond that of the material stability of our power. And it will remain for us to consider whether we can continue in relations of amity with a power whose government, even under our protection and guidance, will not, or cannot, control its own army, or whether we should not at once take our own measures for obliterating a state which, as these events would appear to show, can never

become a peaceful neighbour, and which, so long as it is allowed to exist, is likely to be a perpetual source of military annoyance (at all events), and, consequently, a cause of unsatisfactory expense and of additional anxiety. That it will never really be again a source of military danger, I believe truly has been effectually secured by Lord Hardinge.

The following, from Mr. Currie (his acting successor in the Political Agency), reaches him about the same time :—

Lahore, July 20, 1848.

Your brother John sent me, a few days ago, your short note of the 24th May, the purport of which was to intimate your intention of being at Lahore on the 1st February next, and your hope that this would suit my convenience. My convenience is a thing which has never been consulted by any one since I first agreed to come here for two years, at your request, to enable you to visit England without loss of appointment ; and I have to desire that it should be taken into consideration now. I must say, however, that I shall be happy to make over this Residency to you whenever arrangements may be made by the Court for my retaining a seat in Council, and by Lord Dalhousie for your re-appointment to Lahore. . . . I have had a most anxious and a trying time here ; but all cause for anxiety will have passed away ere you return.

LORD DALHOUSIE to SIR HENRY LAWRENCE.

. . . . My word is passed that, on your return at the end of a year, you should be replaced at Lahore ; and so you shall. . . . I fully join in all you say as to Mr. Edwardes' merits ; and, although you have all thrown up your caps too soon as to the result of his actions, he deserves all he has got in winning them. If he wishes to go home, he shall go ; if he prefers to stay, I will honourably prefer him in charge under the Government, whenever I have a just opportunity of doing so. . . . Mooltan must be taken ; and as matter of self-preservation the army, which has declared its object,

must be met and crushed. The ulterior policy need not be promulgated till then ; but I say frankly I see no halting-place midway any longer. There was no more sincere friend of Lord Hardinge's policy to establish a strong Hindoo government between the Sutlej and the Khyber than I. I have done all that man could do to support such a government and to sustain that policy. I no longer believe it feasible to do so ; and I must act according to the best of my judgment on what is before me. All this we shall have many opportunities of talking about at some stage or other.

Sir Henry, with his wife, left England, never to return, in November 1848.

Lady Lawrence's journal of this voyage, in letters addressed to her son Alexander (who remained at home), is a record of impressions of pleasure. Her husband was with her, and all her own ; she carried out also her second boy, born in Nepaul. Her health was, for the time, re-established ; she was enjoying all the buoyancy of heart to which recovery gives birth —when we feel as if rendered young again in the midway of our fatiguing pilgrimage ; and all the romance of her temperament—her passionate love of natural beauties, her religious enthusiasm, her vehement participation in her husband's opinions and controversies —come to the surface in these careless utterances, penned to satisfy her own emotions rather than for the sake of a child too young to appreciate them. Take the following description of a sunset in the Egyptian desert, not traversed as yet by rail :—

At length the sun declined almost due behind us, and the western sky began to glow with colours which made the desert itself seem a part of heaven. Not above two or three times in my life, on the broad sea, or among the Himalayas, have I ever seen an aspect of the sky that seemed like this : it might belong to some world different from ours. Clouds like masses

of rough gold, brilliant rose tints, and, near the horizon, a band of pale green, all of a jewelled splendour that is never seen in more northerly latitudes. So sank the sun ; and then the sky took an appearance of red flame with dark smoke, like vapour also, such as, I think, must have appeared over Mount Sinai, and which brought very solemn thoughts of that cloud of flame in which our Lord will at last descend. The lower mountains, now almost opposite the setting sun, had, till he sunk, shone with rosy light here and there, and the rest had a rich neutral tint ; but now the range stood forth so close and forbidding that they seemed to me like those to which the impenitent will cry when they say to the mountains, "Fall on us, and to the hills, cover us." It was a scene of such solemnity as I hope never to forget.⁶ But it faded away, and only a few thick clouds floated below the western star in the clear, pale sky, when we met another batch of travellers from Bombay. Our vans stopped ; papa got out, and, in the twilight, had ten minutes' talk with Colonel Outram. They have long known each other by character, and corresponded pleasantly, but had never met before. There is much alike in their characters ; but Colonel Outram has had peculiar opportunities of protesting against tyranny, and he has refused to enrich himself by ill-gotten gains. You cannot, my boy, understand the question about the conquest of Sindh by Sir Charles Napier ; but I wish you to know that your parents consider it most unjust. Prize-money has been distributed to those concerned in the war. Colonel Outram, though a

⁶ The following trifling extract from another letter of nearly the same date to her absent boy may merely serve to show how far Lady Lawrence was, in her religious fervour, from disregarding the cultivation of ordinary literary tastes, or the creation of them in those she loved :—"I am very glad you have been hearing the *Lady of the Lake*; it is very pretty. Tell me which you like best. I think I used to like best about the fiery cross being sent round the clan. Tell me when uncle read the *Tempest* aloud. We have asked him to get a copy of Shakspeare as our Christmas present to you, dearest child. I used, when I was a child, to like *Macbeth* best of all ; and after that the *Tempest*. " "I should like to know, Alick dear," says his father, in a later letter, October 28, 1854, "if you remember all the verses and poetry that mamma taught you, and that I helped you to learn in Nepaul. You used to learn four or five pages of the *Lays of Ancient Rome* in a day as a pleasure-lesson when you were eight years old."

very poor man, would not take money which he did not think rightfully his, and distributed all his share in charity—giving 800*l.* to the Hill Asylum at Kussowlee. I was glad, even in the dark, to shake hands with one whom I esteemed so highly.

As we shall have abundant opportunity of remarking on the personal relations between Lawrence and Napier, when brought in contact at subsequent periods, I will forbear from any comment on the question between the latter and Outram, although productive, at the time, of so much heart-burning, and, unfortunately, of so much derogatory controversy. Sir Henry, as we see, espoused vehemently the side of Outram. His chivalrous nature revolted against what he conceived the injustice done to the Ameers—injustice peculiarly felt by him, because he disapproved as much of the political as the moral character of the conquest achieved over them ; and his feelings were strongly engaged by the contrast between the conduct of Napier, enriched by that conquest, and Outram, who refused to touch his own inferior share in the prize-money. Let us pass over the subject. There is, after all, room enough in the Pantheon of Indian heroes for Napier, Lawrence, and Outram, bitterly hostile as they were in their lives and unreconciled in their deaths.

Sir Henry, with his wife, reached Bombay in December, whence he proceeded at once to Lahore ; the last news which greeted his arrival being that of the capture and imprisonment of his brother Colonel George and Mrs. Lawrence by the Afghans, after weeks of almost desperate tenacity of resistance at Peshawur. Their captivity, however, was not of long duration.

CHAPTER XV.

1849.

RETURN TO INDIA—RELATIONS WITH THE NEW GOVERNOR-GENERAL,
 LORD DALHOUSIE—SIEGE OF MOOLTAN, JANUARY 1849—
 SECOND SIKH WAR—BATTLES OF CHILLIANWALLAH AND
 GOOJERAT—PROCLAMATION TO THE SIKHS—DISCUSSIONS ON
 ANNEXATION, MARCH 1849—VIEWS OF HENRY AND JOHN
 LAWRENCE RESPECTIVELY—LORD DALHOUSIE ACTS IN ACCORD-
 ANCE WITH THE OPINION OF THE LATTER—RESIGNATION TEN-
 DERED BY HENRY—RECONCILIATION.

WE have now accompanied Henry Lawrence, as it were, step by step, to the summit of his Indian ambition. We have seen him make his way, without interest or patronage, except such as he won for himself by “industrious valour,” to the government of a great, subjugated, and protected province; ruling it with almost absolute authority, under the supremacy of a Governor-General who sympathized with all his views, and sought almost too eagerly for his counsel and support. Loved at once, and respected by his own subordinates; all but worshipped, after their Oriental fashion, by the Natives, with whose speech, habits, and thoughts he was familiar to a degree very rarely equalled by official Englishmen;—he was, perhaps, in as enviable a position as the noble service to which he belongs afforded, while, as yet,

envy had scarcely begun to make its discordant notes heard amidst the general chorus of voices raised in his honour. He was now to return to the scenes of his labours and deepest interests, to the country which he had known for more than twenty years, and with which he had made himself thoroughly familiar, and that under circumstances the most flattering to one covetous of renown ; for he had been almost recalled by the public voice as the one man necessary for the occasion. Whether justly or not, the opinion had got ground that it was owing in some degree to his absence that the recent disorganization of the Punjab had taken place ; and that his presence was the chief thing needed to restore the broken fabric of his and our policy. The "ikhbal" of the great English chief—so said the natives—had deserted his countrymen. His departure had been the signal of revolt ; his return, it might be hoped or feared, would be the signal of reconciliation or re-conquest.

Such was the outward promise of events ; and yet—such was the bitter irony of Fortune—this very epoch of dawning prosperity proved the turning-point of his life in the other direction. Thenceforward his career was still to be that of one devoted to the performance of his duty, and finding in it high opportunities of enjoyment for his keen and ambitious spirit ; but it was, at the same time, to be in the main one of disappointment. He was to witness the seeds of successful administration, painfully sown by himself, ripening into a harvest to be reaped by others. He was to see projects of policy, matured by himself in the fulness of knowledge and experience, neglected or set aside, or altered and transformed, by new masters, the successors of those under whom he had grown up,

and whose counsels had been matured along with his own. He was to see himself, not, indeed, treated otherwise than with the personal regard which were due to him, but "shunted" aside, in what he deemed his mid-course of usefulness, into a quiet nook by the wayside, there to repose until he and those who ruled over him could set their horses, in popular phrase, better together. It was a hard destiny, doubtless; and so it was deemed by many an honourable friend and staunch partisan of his own, and, to a considerable extent, by the public voice of India. But yet fairness compels even a biographer to admit, that those who sympathize with him and admire him most had scarcely a right to deem him, in the main, treated with injustice.

In the first place, because it is impossible for a supreme ruler, be he Governor-General or Sovereign, to maintain in a post of high activity, as well as responsibility, one whose views, on certain leading points of policy, are diametrically opposite to his own. If the ruler, under such circumstances, allows the vizier, from whom he differs, to continue his course of action, from mere dislike to annoy and affront, he is guilty of a very serious dereliction of duty. He sacrifices, not merely his own influence and *prestige*, but the interest of his subjects, to what Lawrence himself would have emphatically called "the fear of man." The only course open to the ruler, in such a case, if he is bent on humouring the feelings of his subordinate, is to bid him to remain in his place, but confine himself to carrying strictly out the policy imposed on him from above. In the case of subordinates whose duties are of a comparatively unimportant order, this line may no doubt be, and often

is, adopted without much inconvenience ; but the governor of a great, though subordinate, state, with his army, his cabinet, his host of executive officers, is not to be thus half-trusted, and employed under indenture to serve in a particular way. No man would have recognized, and acted upon, this principle more resolutely than he who became, in this instance, the victim of it. Had Lawrence been Dalhousie, he would as certainly have rid himself of a right-hand man who thwarted him—not, indeed, by disobedience, but by opposition of opinion—as did Dalhousie himself. Whether the principal or the subordinate were the more sound in his judgment may be a question of deep interest for the after-world, which has by-and-by to apportion permanent renown ; but it can make no difference as to the right or wrong of the immediate case. Queen Anne might be wise or foolish in determining to make peace with France ; but, having so determined, it is idle work to accuse her of ingratitude because she turned out her veteran Whig advisers, under whose conduct such peace was impossible.

Such are, as it seems to me, the general principles on which the often raised problem, whether an agent, either dismissed or virtually superseded, has been fairly treated or no, must be practically decided. But it must also be admitted that there was much in Lawrence's personal character which at once exposed him to the probabilities of such collision, and rendered it more difficult for him to bear it with that "innate untaught philosophy," which belongs, it may be, to an inferior order of minds. I cannot believe it to be the duty of a biographer, whatever admiration he may sincerely entertain for his hero, either to conceal or to gloss over those points in his temperament or conduct

which he may deem imperfect. No true portraiture can be drawn without its shades as well as light. In the first place, the record of his early life shows abundantly that he was by nature headstrong and opinionate, intolerant of opposition and of contradiction. These were qualities which he was always seeking to keep under control; and this endeavour he carried on mainly by the aid of a firm, almost stern, Christian philosophy, which in his written remains contrasts at times in a marked manner with the great kindness and sensitiveness of his nature. The discipline of this sort of concentrated enthusiasm kept down the rebellious tendencies in Lawrence, but could not subdue them into coldness. It gave him the resolution to submit, but not the resignation which submits cheerfully. And, it must be added, every feeling of disappointment had in his temperament, as in others, a certain disposition to become personal, or, in other words, to fester. We have seen that his father wrought his unpropitious way through life under the constant pressure of a "grievance." His path was one of obscurity, his son's one of renown; and yet something of the same uneasy, persistent feeling of ill-usage—the result, perhaps, in the first place, of affection and veneration for that very father—seems to have descended from the one to the other. As far as I can judge from his remains, Henry Lawrence was too apt to diverge into that untoward line of thought which makes men ready to interpret into hostility offence in being overruled, or opposed on questions of public or private policy, and to stumble over every obstacle which they meet with in their chosen career, as if it were a rock of offence placed malignantly in their way.

I have expressed boldly what I regard as a defect in Henry Lawrence's mental organization. I fear I may offend others, besides his personal admirers, when I suggest likewise, that it was to some extent a defect of his class, and of his education. That Anglo-Indians, as a rule, are apt to be "touchy," to fall into some exaggeration of their own personal importance, and some unnecessary resentment at supposed slights, is pretty generally admitted, even by those who do the fullest justice to the noble qualities which a truly Roman system has developed among them for a century. And for this, as it appears to me, there are two leading reasons. The first is, the comparative isolation of their lives. His time devoted in the main to a round of common-place duties, with few intervals of amusement and relaxation ; with very few associates, suffering too frequently from the impatience produced by a climate at once irritating and enervating—the Indian official, in his lonely dignity, or in the narrow regimental or official set to which he is confined, has only too much opportunity to brood over his own prospects, and to anatomize his own sensations. The healthy process of being "knocked about" in a busy, changeable, self-engaged society, in which he is himself only a unit, is seldom experienced by him. In the next place, his hopes, aspirations, fears, have all a tendency to become of a strictly personal nature. He can only rise in one narrow and definite line of progress—rise by talent, by industry, or by interest, or by all combined. From the time that he enters on his course until he abandons it, India is to him one great field of competitive struggle. Not to attain an expected advantage, to be passed by another in a race for it—these are vexations, but which

may be lightly borne where the mind is diverted by a choice of other prospects : not so where the race is close run, and every aspirant well known to every other. And, even where an individual may chance not to have his mind exclusively fixed on his own future, he is pretty sure to engage himself deeply in hopes or fears on behalf of others, which he indulges until they become almost as acutely felt, and eat into the constitution as sharply, as those which touch himself. Partisanship becomes a passion ; and Henry Lawrence was very far from having conquered it. As far as his nature was not subdued by discipline he was a vehement lover and a good hater.

And one more feature must, in justice to all parties, be added, to complete the picture. He had early taken, as we have seen, to critical writing ; his pen was ready and incisive ; his temper fearless ; his judgment apt to be severe, though always restrained within the bounds of gentlemanly and honest controversy. But so it happens, whatever the cause of the phenomenon, that those who are most exercised in this line of writing, and most ready at employing the press as a vehicle of their sentiments regarding public measures and public men, are apt to be the most sensitive to similar criticism when directed against themselves. Lawrence, as it seems to me, furnished no exception to this general rule. Whenever his or his friends' policy was obstructed, or their persons, in his opinion, slighted, the mortification which he suffered was increased tenfold by the stings of press animadversion, and his first impulse was to adopt—similar means of vindication and retort.

The first, and most significant, warning of the impending change in his destiny was to be found in

the altered tone of his private correspondence with the two successive Governors-General—the one with him in England, the other out in India. That correspondence was at this time exceedingly active, and Sir Henry carefully preserved it. The change from the "dear Lawrence," and the varied terms of affectionate subscription used by Hardinge, to the "Dear Sir Henry," and "Yours sincerely" of Lord Dalhousie, indicate plainly enough the altered terms on which he stood with them respectively. Lord Hardinge and he had long been friends; but the friendship had ripened into cordial affection. His lordship speaks of and to Lawrence uniformly with the tenderness of a brother. Whatever his other faults or merits, the old Peninsular hero was one of the most amiable of men. There was something almost feminine in his tenderness of nature. Sir Henry Lawrence, in writing about him in the *Calcutta Review*, seems to think it necessary to defend him against the charge of a too yielding disposition :—

Because Lord Hardinge was always cordial and kind to his secretaries, some have jumped to the conclusion that he was unduly influenced by them. Far otherwise: he was ready to hear the opinion of every one who had a right to give one. But no Governor-General ever more decidedly took his own line, and chalked out his own course, than Lord Hardinge.

The very necessity under which the friendly critic felt himself of volunteering this defence showed the prevalence of those qualities which gave some occasion for the charge. In truth, Lord Hardinge had, when personal resolution was not required, a tendency to lean on others. This arose, in part, from that great

modesty and simplicity of character which made him the favourite pupil of Wellington in his greatest wars, and made him also, when armed with all the dignity of Governor-General, ready to follow Lord Gough to the field as a subordinate in the first Sikh campaign. It is clear from the correspondence that Lord Hardinge not only loved and admired Lawrence, but that he to a certain extent depended on him, as the stronger of the two; and he was repaid by deep attachment. With the exception of a slight coolness occasioned in Henry's mind when, on his departure for England, the Governor-General appointed Currie to succeed him in the Punjab, instead of John Lawrence—whether that step was prompted by regard for Currie, his secretary, or by a dislike to be thought too much under the influence of “the Lawrences”—there was never an interruption to their friendship. From the many affectionate expressions of Lord Hardinge's attachment, which greeted Sir Henry Lawrence during the last days of his stay in England, I select one only:—

27th October 1848.

I only received your letter from Bristol on my return to South Park last night from Windsor Castle. I, therefore, address this note to Clarendon Place, to say that I shall come up to town on Sunday morning by the first train, and be at the Carlton as soon after ten as I can, and find you out, wherever you may be. . . . I say nothing more at present, except the assurance to you and your dear wife that, in the matter concerning your son,¹ I shall take the most devoted interest, trusting, by the blessing of God on your honourable proceedings and distinguished career, I shall never be called on to act as a guardian to your boy.

¹ The reference is to exertions which Lord Hardinge was then making to obtain a promise of a writership for Alexander Lawrence (Henry's eldest son).

Lord Dalhousie was a man of different mould. His character is matter of history now; and I shall make no scruple in speaking of it with the freedom which beseems at once its grandeur and its defects, so far as it affected the career and prospects of the subject of my memoir. All know that he was self-reliant, imperious, strong-willed, autocratic; a thorough gentleman in act and thought, notwithstanding all the insinuations of the Napier school to the contrary; but intolerant of opposition, and bent on removing it out of his way, with little regard for personal feelings or considerations. I have very little doubt, moreover, from the general tone of his early correspondence from India, that he went there impressed with a fear, cherished in a nature as cautious as it was proud, of being supposed to be under the dictation of this or that local adviser. Though not exactly answering to the description of "that young fellow," by which Napier designates him—for he was forty-two when appointed—yet he had, of course, the disadvantages of youth, as compared with men who had grown grey in the Indian service, and whose experience was at least undeniable, while his abilities were as yet untried. He was, I think, determined to show, on all good occasions, that he could, and would, stand alone, even more demonstratively than the circumstances required. It was to some extent unfortunate for both—very unfortunate for Lord Dalhousie—that the occasion between him and his new superior so soon arrived, and that the consequences of the collision became, through other necessary causes, irreparable.

From his landing-place at Bombay, in December 1848, Sir Henry proceeded at once to the Punjab,

and joined the army in campaign against the rebels, after nearly a twelvemonth's absence. He was present at the last days of the siege of Mooltan, left that place on the 8th January 1849, and arrived in time to witness the half-won contest at Chillianwallah, when Lord Gough claimed a victory which public opinion at the time denied him. According to Mr. Kaye :—

After the battle, which both sides claimed to have won, Lord Gough proposed to withdraw his army some five or six miles from the scene of action, for the sake of obtaining better fodder for his cattle. Against this Henry Lawrence warmly protested, saying, that if the British fell back at such a time, even a single mile, the Sikhs would accept the fact as an evidence of our defeat, and take new heart and courage from our retrograde movement. These arguments prevailed. The British army remained on its old encamping ground, and at the worst it could only be said that there was a drawn battle.²

While the issues of the war were as yet undecided, Sir Henry resumed his post as Resident at Lahore on the 1st February. He was not present, therefore, at the battle of Goojerat, which finished the contest; but he received the following account of it from Sir Colin Campbell (Lord Clyde) :—

MY DEAR LAWRENCE,—

*Two or three miles North,
and two points East of Goojerat.*

HURRAH ! We have gained a great success—I should rather say, a great victory ! The army advanced from Sada-walla this morning, at half-past seven o'clock.

We advanced in this order, opening fire with our artillery on the enemy, causing them to fly before us in every direction. They stood firmly; but they could not stand the fire of our artillery. They were driven before both wings in the greatest confusion on both sides of Goojerat, leaving their

* *Lives of Indian Officers*, ii. 302.

camp standing, and all the property in it. . . . They are dropping their guns and tumbrils along the road, getting rid of every encumbrance to hasten their flight. They were, as an army, one vast mass of fugitives, all crowded together in one heap—cavalry and infantry, regulars and irregulars. The loss of their entire camp; every tent taken, of chief and soldier; all their ammunition, which is now being blown up in every direction in their camp. I did not fire a musket; and I thank God, which I do with a most grateful heart, that our loss has been altogether insignificant. The army is in high spirits. It was like a beautiful field-day, the whole day's work. God bless you and yours most sincerely,

C. CAMPBELL.

Twenty-two or twenty-four guns, in all.

"The Battle of Goojerat," says Mr. Arnold, "admirably planned, patiently fought out, and sufficiently consummated, ended the second Sikh war, and finally crushed the Khâlsa army."³

Sir Charles Napier informed his brother William, by letter, that Sir Henry Lawrence "sent Lord Gough a whole plan for the battle, which would, if followed, have lost the army, in case of a check. *Of that I speak from hearsay only.*"⁴ I am aware of no other authority for the story; and Sir Charles's hearsay against a man whom he disliked may, probably, be passed over with little attention.

Already, even before the last cannon were heard at Goojerat, Lord Dalhousie, anticipating the overthrow of the Sikh army, had been engaged with Sir Henry in settling the draft of a proclamation, inviting the Khâlsa to lay down their arms.⁵ I have not found

³ *Administration of Lord Dalhousie*, i. 177.

⁴ *Life*, iv. 281.

⁵ So endorsed by Sir Henry Lawrence; but the papers thus denominated consist only of two draft letters by him, addressed to Chuttur Sing and Sher Sing. Lord Dalhousie has marked certain passages as "~~disapproved~~," on account, apparently, of the gentleness of the language used.

it preserved; but there can be no doubt, from the correspondence which follows, that, as framed by Sir Henry, it was in accordance with his characteristic views of considerate tenderness for the misled, and of personal feeling towards the leaders of a warlike race, with which he had so long dwelt in amity. Lord Dalhousie disapproved of them as too temperate for the occasion, and these are the terms in which he conceived it necessary to announce that disapproval to his veteran subordinate, just returned to his sphere of duty, and with whom he had scarcely as yet formed a personal acquaintance :—

Ferozepur, 1st February 1849

" In my conversation with you a few days ago I took occasion to say to you that my mode of conducting public business, in the administration with which I am intrusted, and especially with the confidential servants of the Government, are, to speak with perfect openness, without any reserve, and plainly to tell my mind without disguise or mincing of words. In pursuance of that system, I now remark on the proclamation you have proposed. It is objectionable in matter, because, from the terms in which it is worded, it is calculated to convey to those who are engaged in this shameful war an expectation of much more favourable terms; much more extended immunity from punishment, than I consider myself justified in granting them. It is objectionable in manner: because (unintentionally, no doubt) its whole tone substitutes you personally, as the Resident at Lahore, for the Government which you represent. It is calculated to raise the inference that a new state of things is arising; that the fact of your arrival with a desire to bring peace to the Punjab is likely to affect the warlike measures of the Government; and that you are come as a peacemaker for the Sikhs, as standing between them and the Government. This cannot be. . . . There must be entire identity between the Government and its Agent, whoever he is. . . . I repeat, that I can allow nothing to be said or done, which should

raise the notion that the policy of the Government of India, or its intentions, depend on your presence as Resident in the Punjab, or the presence of Sir F. Currie instead. By the orders of the Court of Directors, that policy is not to be finally declared until after the country is subjected to our military possession, and after a full review of the whole subject. The orders of the Court shall be obeyed by me. I do not seek for a moment to conceal from you that I have seen no reason whatever to depart from the opinion that the peace and vital interests of the British Empire now require that the power of the Sikh Government should not only be defeated, but subverted, and their dynasty abolished. I am very willing that a proclamation should be issued by you, but bearing evidence that it proceeds from Government. It may notify that no terms can be given, but unconditional submission; yet that, on submission being immediately made, no man's life shall be forfeited for the part he has taken in hostilities against the British Government, &c. &c.

Those who can estimate aright, and make due allowance for, "the pride of haughty souls to human honour tied," may calculate what it must have cost one who had occupied the position so long held by Lawrence, to answer duly a new master who addressed him thus. The application was a sharp one, doubtless; but however he might wince under it, it could not make him swerve from the path of duty.—

Lahore, 5th February.

I have written the proclamation in the terms I understand your lordship to desire; but any alteration made in it, or the letter, by your order will be duly attended to when the translations are prepared. I may, however, observe, the Natives do not understand "unconditional surrender." They know that, with themselves, it implies murder and spoliation. As, therefore, life and security from imprisonment is promised to the soldiers, I would suggest that the word "unconditional surrender" be omitted, as they may be

made use of by the ill-disposed to blind others to the real conditions. . . .

My own opinion, as already more than once expressed in writing to your lordship, is against annexation. I did think it unjust: I now think it impolitic. It is quite possible I may be prejudiced and blinded; but I have thought over the subject long and carefully. However, if I had not intended to have done my duty under all circumstances, conscience permitting, I should not have hurried out from England to have taken part in arrangements that, under any circumstances, could not but have in them more of bitterness than all else for me.

Lord Dalhousie, it may be observed, was apt to pique himself on his own resolution in performing that painful function of official duty—the correction and reprimand even of distinguished officers, when necessary. He thought Lawrence deficient in this quality. “If —— had behaved to me as he did to Lawrence” (he is reported to have said on one occasion), “I would have smashed him!” It would, however, be erroneous to infer from the somewhat chivalrous gentleness of Lawrence’s disposition that he was deficient in the same unpleasant faculty when needed. He could be as curt, and as decided, at times, in administering the “snub”—to use a disagreeable word—as Lord Dalhousie himself. It must be remembered that the receiver of the following admonition was, not only a most meritorious officer, but a popular hero, one whom fortune had placed in the way of achieving a great service to the Empire; and that he was, moreover, the closest personal friend and ally of Lawrence himself, among all those whom he had trained and led; he, of whom Napier speaks in his contemptuous way, as “Sir Henry Lawrence’s *protégé* Edwardes, who, after being brought forward as

a young Clive by the Directors, proved to be no Clive at all ;" and who lived, not only to honour Lawrence continually while living, but to undertake and leave half-completed the task of his biography :—

SIR H. LAWRENCE to EDWARDES.

February 23rd, 1849.

Lieutenant Young has behaved admirably as a soldier ; but where would be the end of men acting on their own responsibility if not only you, but he, could, without reference to me, disarm and discharge a regular regiment for an offence committed months ago ? If such is right, there is no need of a Resident at all. Considering how the battle of Godjerat has gone, little ill would probably result ; but had the result been even doubtful, it would have given an excuse for the 8,000 or so Durbar troops still with us to desert. Just now, when you are only recovering from a sick bed, I am sorry to have to find fault with you, but I have no alternative in this matter. The times have loosened discipline, but the sooner it is returned to, the better for all parties. The Governor-General more than once, even before I resumed charge, dwelt most strongly on the manner in which every assistant in the Residency acted just as if he were a Commandor-in-Chief and a Governor-General. You will not mistake me. You know me to be your friend, I hope in the best sense. I know and admire your excellent qualities ; I fully appreciate the good service you have done, and have most gladly borne testimony to them ; but this is not the first time we have had a discussion of this kind : I most sincerely hope it will be the last.

Another officer, well known in after days, seems to have received similar warnings :—

SIR H. LAWRENCE to LORD DALHOUSIE.

April 15th, 1849.

I am averse to bring Lieutenant Hodson's name again before your lordship ; but I venture to do so, as I may have been misunderstood. He wishes to give up the Guides, and

to be an assistant. From education, ability, and zeal, there is no man in the Punjab better fitted to become an excellent civil officer. His faults are that he is aware of his ability, and is apt to arrogate too much. If I have appeared to your lordship to have too much taken his part, I have at the same time said so much to him of his errors, that he seems to think I wish to get rid of him !

Another cause of difference, not unattended with ruffling of temper, between the Governor-General and Sir Henry, is disclosed in the correspondence of this period: namely, the ancient controversy respecting the character and trustworthiness of Goolab Sing. It will be remembered how often Sir Henry had, in the main, espoused the cause of this potentate, in the matter of his appointment to Cashmere, notwithstanding the embarrassing fact that he had himself left on record, on various occasions, an extremely low opinion of him :—

MY DEAR SIR H.,—

February 18th, 1849.

REFERRING to the communications which have passed between us regarding Goolab Sing, you disclaim being his admirer, and urge your desire to make the best of a crooked character. I give you the fullest credit for both assurances. You appeal also to your own career to show that you have had but the one object of doing your duty, and that without being influenced now, any more than at any other time, by personal feelings. Nothing was or could have been further from my intentions than to lead you to suppose that I had the slightest feeling to the contrary. I do not think there is anything in my letter which would carry that inference ; but if so, and if you have so construed it, I beg you to be assured I meant no words of mine ever to convey such a meaning. As for your not having my confidence, differences of opinion must not be understood as withdrawal of confidence. You give, and will, I hope, continue to give, me your views frankly. I shall give you, in reply, my opinions as frankly. If we differ, I shall

say so ; but my saying so ought not to be interpreted to mean want of confidence. Be assured, if ever I lose confidence in your services, than which nothing is farther from my contemplation, I will acquaint you of the fact promptly enough. Till the announcement comes, then,—than which, I repeat, nothing is less anticipated by me,—I remain assured of your retaining that feeling of confidence and conviction of your value to the public service which alone was my motive for replacing you where you are.

The private correspondence which I have quoted shows that in the beginning of February, Lord Dalhousie's mind was well made up as to the expediency of annexing the Punjab, but that he felt himself in direct opposition on this subject to so high an authority as Sir Henry ; and that for this, doubtless, among other reasons, he, resolute as was his nature, hesitated as to acting on his own conviction. His policy was "not to be finally declared until after a full review of the whole subject." The circumstances which hastened on this declaration were sufficiently peculiar to deserve a record, especially as they throw light, in more respects than one, on the character of the subject of this biography.

I find in Sir Henry's correspondence the copy of the following note, addressed by him to Lord Dalhousie, on the 11th March, from Lahore :—

SIR H. LAWRENCE to LORD DALHOUSIE.

Lahore, March 11th, 1849.

If there is likely to be any delay in your lordship's coming to Lahore, I should like to be permitted to run over to Ferozepoor for a few hours, or that my brother John should do so, which would answer equally well.

Lord Dalhousie's answer (March 18th) shows that the eventful visit had taken place. /

I have had two long conversations with your brother, and have requested him to convey to you fully the substance of what we have been discussing, both as to my intentions and as to the mode of carrying them into execution. I am much obliged by his coming here.

John Lawrence was at that time, in point of position, Commissioner for the Jullundur or cis-Sutlej district, but his frequent employment as acting Resident at Lahore during his brother's or Currie's absences, brought him and the Governor-General at this anxious time into very intimate relations. The object of the above note was to obtain an opportunity for confidential discussion of the annexation project. It was, I believe, suggested originally by Lord Dalhousie himself. But when the time came, Henry, for some reason or other, was indisposed to the interview. After what we read of the occasional style of correspondence between the chief and subordinate, we may perhaps feel not much surprise at this disinclination. All that Henry could do would have been to contest, by often unsuccessful arguments, a foregone conclusion in favour of annexation. John was not in the same untoward predicament. The difference between the two brothers was this : Henry, with a strong personal dislike to annexation, nevertheless thought (as he told Mr. Kaye⁶) that, considering the recent conduct of the Sikhs, the time had come when this measure might, "perhaps," be resorted to with justice ; but he believed it to be wholly inexpedient. John, though, on general principles, no greater lover of annexation than his brother, deemed its expediency in this instance both undeniable and pressing. John was a veteran civilian and revenue administrator. To make both

ends meet—the special object of honest and able men of this class in general—was in his view essential. He knew that, come what might, the Punjab must form the great military advanced post of our dominion—a “*tête-du-pont*,” as it were, protecting our rich central provinces from Afghan, Persian, or Russian; the point from whence, if necessity compelled, we must make our own foreign influence radiate over the divided, jealous, but warlike tribes of the North-West. Whoever might govern the Punjab, England must garrison it; and our experience of recent days showed that the maintenance of that garrison would be at once more costly and more necessary than ever. Now, military contributions, from a nominally independent people, were a precarious and hazardous resource. If annexed, its revenues, administered with British skill and regularity, and those revenues rapidly increasing under the security of British government, the Punjab would, in time, create an accession to our treasury instead of a demand on it. But this was a view which, from the very nature of Henry Lawrence's mind, made on him but slight impression. He was no “political” except by accident, and had in him the characteristics of a soldier and a statesman, not a financier. There was no more scrupulous and high-minded judge of the morality of a public measure, no more clear-sighted appreciator of its policy; but considerations as to its pecuniary cost or profitableness were but reluctantly received into his counsels. He had “no head for figures,” in public or in private transactions; and, like most men deficient in this respect, was somewhat disposed to undervalue those who saw in them the chief governing elements of human action. This was undoubtedly an imperfection, and many will perhaps

deem it one which, in a ruler of men, no other merits could compensate. Others may think that, after all, the greatest efforts have been achieved, and the greatest benefits secured, by statesmen and by communities with whom, when a great crisis arrived, the economical aspect of the case was postponed as matter of secondary importance.

John Lawrence found Lord Dalhousie at Ferozepoor, not less resolved than he had hitherto been on annexation as the final object of his policy, but in considerable hesitation as to the mode and time of carrying it into effect. It was a hazardous experiment, and the question was whether it was to be tried on a people still cowering under the terror of recent defeat, or postponed until the same people had been more effectively either conciliated or subdued. On this head, John Lawrence's counsel was given without hesitation. The problem of annexation itself he assumed as determined. That being so, he had no doubt as to the immediate step to be taken. What was to be done, must be done quickly. The "Khâlsa" must be allowed no time to recover its prestige and reconstitute its armies. Besides this, the hot weather was fast approaching. The difficulty of moving and provisioning marching forces, in case of any necessity for action arising, would increase with every week. He advised, therefore, that what was determined should be without delay. His advice was taken: and on the 29th March, at Lahore and elsewhere, the multitudinous tribes of the Five Rivers, of the Indus Valley, and the skirts of Western Himalaya, were informed that the sovereignty over them had passed to the Queen of England. The announcement was received in general with sullen submis-

sion. Since that time much variation and much revolution of feeling has taken place as to the general policy of annexation. But of one thing there can be no doubt, that a most flourishing province has enjoyed, for a quarter of a century, the benefit of a wise and temperate government, instead of being the constant battlefield of two rival religions and thirty or forty self-styled independent chieftains, united only for occasional purposes of oppression. It should be added, in closing this important chapter of my work, that even Lord Hardinge had by this time come round to the policy advocated by Lord Dalhousie. Writing to Sir Henry (March 24, 1849) he says : "The energy and turbulent spirit of the Sikhs are stated by one section (of politicians here) as ground for *not annexing*. In my judgment this is the argument which would dispose me, if I were on the spot, to annex... I should be ashamed of myself if I would not depart from a line of policy which was right at the time, because I might be charged with inconsistency."

Right or wrong, however, Lord Dalhousie was secure in this matter of popular applause. Such counsels as those of Henry Lawrence were never less in favour, either with Anglo-Indians or with the multitude at home. The hot fit of annexation fever was then upon us ; to be succeeded, after the mutiny, by the frigid reaction of our day.

I like this young man (Lord Dalhousie), says Sir Charles Napier,⁷ for he is seemingly a good fellow, but he has no head for governing this empire and drawing forth all its wondrous resources ! What the Koh-i-noor is among diamonds, India is among nations. Were I emperor of India for twelve years, she should be traversed by railroads and

⁷ September 3, 1849. *Life*, iv. 188.

have her rivers bridged ; her seat of government at Delhi, or Meerut, or Simla, or Allahabad. No Indian prince should exist. The Nizam should be no more heard of, Nepaul would be ours, and an ague fit should become the courtly imperial sickness at Constantinople, while the Emperor of Russia and he of China should never get their pulses below 100 !

It would be unfair to judge Sir Charles Napier too closely by the wild extravagances of diction in which he indulged in his private communications, although his admiring brother and biographer deemed it an honour to be able to communicate them to the world. But what he said in this matter he meant ; and there will be always a large proportion of the world, more especially the Anglo-Indian world, who will lean towards the sentiments of a Napier rather than those of a Lawrence or an Outram, and who revert, in their hearts, to the boldly announced views of Lord Dalhousie. "I take this opportunity of recording my strong and deliberate opinion, that in the exercise of a wise and sound policy the British Government is bound not to put aside or neglect such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue as may from time to time present themselves."⁸ Nor can the modern principle of British policy towards native potentates, now commonly ascribed to the influence of Lord Canning, be regarded, even yet, as more than a promising experiment. But this much, at all events, the lessons of recent times ought to have taught us : to remember the old proverb about dwellers in glass-houses. The course of unmitigated and unreasoning vituperation in which a large portion of our society lately indulged

⁸ Herein, however, he only repeated the somewhat sweeping declarations of former Indian governments. See Marsham's *History of India*, iii. 387. All the members of Lord Dalhousie's Council were favourable to the principle of annexation, except Sir George Clerk, *ib.* 399.

against European Powers for annexing provinces without the express consent of their inhabitants, came not quite gracefully from those who must have been aware of what we have done in India, and still more of what we have justified and applauded.

The immediate result of this final overruling of his judgment was, that Sir H. Lawrence sent in his resignation of the Residentship. It was by no means Lord Dalhousie's wish, or policy, to come to a rupture with one so eminently qualified to hold the first place of government in his new conquest. His secretary, Mr. Elliot (Sir Henry), was sent to induce Lawrence to withdraw the resignation. He succeeded, mainly by the very just argument that the Resident's own favourite objects—the treatment of the vanquished with fair and even indulgent consideration, the smoothing down the inevitable pang of subjugation to those proud and brave enemies, with whose chieftains no man was so familiar as he, or could so fully appreciate what there was of noble in their character—were in imminent danger of being thwarted, if his moderating presence were removed between conqueror and conquered.

After this partial reconciliation, the private, or "demi-official," correspondence between chief and subordinate became even more guarded than before. Each knew the other, and was careful not to give offence. On Lord Dalhousie's part, indeed, there was always that ease and frankness of manner which the high polish of a gentleman—and no one possessed this more eminently than his lordship—enables him to throw into communications with officials, even where the real relation between them is one of restraint. How Sir Henry, however, chafed at times

under the self-imposed curb, may be conjectured from the following very confidential outpouring of his grievances to John. It is of a rather later time than that on which we are now occupied, but I introduce it here in order to have done with this unpleasant part of my subject :—⁹

To JOHN LAWRENCE.

June 13, 1851.

I am at a loss to understand the Governor-General. We are snubbed about Edwardes, then about the Ghoorka corps of Guides, on the assumption that we intend to send the head-quarters of the Guides, and perhaps recommend their being sent, to Murree. Bad enough to snub us when we were wrong, intending to do right ; but to be insulted by assumption, and tittle-tattle is too bad. The remarks, too, on the last batch of Jaghires, on which we all agreed, are not pleasant. I am heartily sick of this kind of letters. One works oneself to death, and does everything publicly and privately to aid the views of a man who vents his importunities on us, in a way which would be unbecoming if we were his servants.

⁹ I have to thank Mr. Beke, the African geographer, for bringing to my notice an act of kindness on the part of Lawrence at this period, and to which I find no reference in his own papers. He fell ill at Aden, on his way to India, with a son of Dr. Biallobotiki, who was accompanying his father, with no very definite prospects, on his mission to Zanzibar. Sir Henry conceived a regard for the almost friendless youth, took him to Lahore, and found Government employment for him, in which, I believe, he still remains.

CHAPTER XVI.

PUNJAB, 1849—1852.

CONSTITUTION OF THE BOARD OF ADMINISTRATION OF THE PUNJAB — SIR HENRY LAWRENCE PRESIDENT — DIVISION OF LABOUR BETWEEN THE MEMBERS — SIR CHARLES NAPIER TAKES COMMAND OF THE INDIAN ARMY, MAY 1849 — HIS VIEWS AND THOSE OF LAWRENCE AS TO ITS CONDITION — NAPIER'S DIFFERENCE WITH LORD DALHOUSIE — CHARACTER OF LAWRENCE BY GENERAL ABBOTT — HIS LOCOMOTIVE HABITS — TOURS OF INSPECTION IN THE PUNJAB AND BEYOND THE FRONTIER — VISIT TO CASHMERE, MAY 1850 — TO ISKARDO AND LADAKH — OUTBREAK AT KOHAT, AUGUST 1850 — CORRESPONDENCE WITH LORD DALHOUSIE — ASYLUM — WRITING FOR THE PRESS.

IT was, in all probability, in some degree owing to the existing differences between himself and Sir Henry Lawrence, that Lord Dalhousie was led to reconstitute the government of the newly-acquired province after a hitherto untried model. The single executive authority was withdrawn from Sir Henry, and a Board of Administration formed, in which two colleagues were assigned to him as President. The scheme was not at first very favourably viewed, either by the officer thus indirectly suspended, or by others. Lawrence wrote to Edwardes, March 17th, 1849 :—

There are to be four Commissioners (civilian) on 2,500 each, and two men with me here (at Lahore) as a Board: they are to get 8,500 each, and I my present pay. Mr.

Mansell and John [Lawrence] are the men. There is much in this that I don't altogether fancy, though there are advantages in commissions. On the whole, I would rather be without them.

Nor did the cynical Sir Charles Napier, who arrived at Calcutta on the 6th of May to take command of the Indian army, judge much more favourably of the scheme :—

I would rather¹ (he writes to his brother William, June 23rd) be Governor of the Punjab than Commander-in-Chief : had I been so, my arrangements would have been quite different from what they are. We shall see how the Commission works. Perhaps it may do, but my opinion is against it ; and I shall confine myself strictly to my military duties, *offering no opinions on other matters*. Had I been here for Lord Dalhousie to put at the head of the Punjab, I believe he could not have done it : my suspicion is that he was ordered to put Lawrence there.

“ Boards rarely have any talent,” says the same eccentric personage, after a visit to Lahore in 1850, of which he criticizes the fortifications (*Indian Mis-government*, p. 48), “ and that of the Punjab offers no exception to the rule.”

I draw from the first chapter of Kaye's *Sepoy War* an analysis of the composition and duties of this Board, which I believe to be exact :—

The system was one of divided labour and common responsibility. On Henry Lawrence devolved what was technically called the political work of the government. The disarming of the country, the negotiations with the chiefs, the organization of the new Punjaubee regiments, the arrangements for the education of the young Maharajah, who has now become the ward of the British Government, were among the immediate duties to which he personally devoted himself.

¹ *Life*, iv. 168.

The chief care of John Lawrence was the civil administration, especially the settlement of the land revenue; whilst Mansell superintended the general judicial management of the province; each, however, aiding the other with his voice, and having a potential voice in the general council. Under these chief officers were a number of subordinate administrators of different ranks, drawn partly from the civil and partly from the military service of the Company. The province was divided into seven divisions, and to each of these a commissioner was appointed. Under each of these commissioners were deputy commissioners, varying in number according to the amount of business to be done; while under these, again, were assistant commissioners and extra assistants, drawn from the uncovenanted servants of Government—Europeans, Indo-Britons, or natives of pure descent.—(*Sepoy War*, i. 52.)

There were, in all, some fifty-six subordinates, commissioners, assistants, deputies, selected from the best men of the civil and military service.

An arrangement which devolved on the members of the government, in common responsibility, together with divided duties—which rendered each answerable for the acts of the other two, although he habitually took no part in them, nor, indeed, owing to the great pressure of business, could take effective part—would certainly seem a contrivance calculated only to enhance the ordinary faults of divided councils, and to eventuate in compromises where action was required, in ill-concealed differences, and final disorganization: although the analogy of Cabinets might be cited by those who look to apparent rather than intrinsic similarities. And so it proved in this instance; but not, it must be admitted, until the machine had, at all events, so worked as to accomplish many good purposes, during the space of nearly four years which elapsed

between the constitution of the Board in April 1849, and Sir Henry's retirement from it in December 1852. The Board's own printed Report of its proceedings, for the first two years (down to 1851) concludes with a passage of just self-appreciation :—

The Board have endeavoured to set forth the administration of the Punjab, since annexation, in all its branches, with as much succinctness as might be compatible with precision and perspicuity. It has been explained how internal peace has been preserved, and the frontier guarded ; how the prison establishments of the State have been organized, how violent crime has been repressed, the penal law executed, and prison discipline enforced ; how civil justice has been administered ; how the taxation has been fixed and the revenue collected ; how commerce has been set free, agriculture fostered, and the national resources developed ; how plans for future improvement have been projected ; and lastly, how the finances have been managed ; the Governor-General, who has seen the country and personally inspected the executive system, will judge whether the Administration has fulfilled the wishes of the Government ; whether the country is richer ; whether the people are happier and better. A great revolution cannot happen without injuring some classes. When a state falls, its nobility and its supporters must to some extent suffer with it : a dominant party, ever moved by political ambition and religious enthusiasm, cannot return to the ordinary level of society and the common occupations of life without feeling some discontent and some enmity against their powerful but humane conquerors. But it is probable that the mass of the people will advance in material prosperity and in moral elevation under the influence of British rule.

I feel as if I might be doing more real justice to my subject, and producing such a memorial of him as men of his stamp might more appreciate, by endeavouring to compile a summary of his and his colleagues'

great work, than by inviting attention to mere biographical details. But space would not serve me, even were the task in other respects an appropriate one. I must content myself with referring my reader, among many other authorities, to the works of Sir John Kaye, Sir Henry's close friend, literary associate, and earnest admirer: the *Lives of Indian Officers*; *History of the East India Administration*; and first chapter of the *Sepoy War*; Arnold's *Administration of Lord Dalhousie*; to Sir Charles Napier's derogatory attacks in the strange work, *Defects, Civil and Military, of the Indian Government*, published after his death, and to the reply to those attacks by Sir Henry himself, in Vol. XXII. of the *Calcutta Review*, written (contrary to usual custom) in his own name. Why this remarkable paper, which is full of interesting auto-biographical details, was not included by his literary executors in the collection of his essays, I do not know.

The arrival of Sir Charles Napier to assume the command of the Indian army, which took place immediately after the constitution of the Board, proved indirectly, in one respect, of considerable advantage to Sir Henry in his endeavours to set that machine in motion. It united the latter with Lord Dalhousie in opposition to a common enemy. Sir Charles, disappointed of military glory by the submission of the Sikhs, arrived eager to take the whole supremacy of India, civil as well as military, into his own hands. His contempt for the "politics," to whom he found the new frontier province of the Punjab delivered, knew no bounds; and if Sir Henry was not, properly speaking, a "political," he was worse—a soldier who had exchanged the uniform for the garments of the

scribe. Napier's scorn for such administrators was only exceeded by that which he felt for the "young Scotch lord" who controlled them; "as weak as water and as vain as a pretty woman or an ugly man."² The self-willed old soldier, who had come out in an unlucky hour to take command of an army when fighting days were over, and to revolutionize existing institutions for lack of any other occupation worthy of his dignity, had yet to learn that in Lord Dalhousie he would encounter a spirit as high and as stubborn as his own, armed with authority uncontestedly superior. The period of his stay in India, from May 1849 to September 1850, was diversified with quarrels of every possible origin and description; as his own diary, in which he concealed no emotion and probably exaggerated many, only too plainly evinces. His first attempt was to establish a scheme for the military government of the Punjab. This was as distasteful to Sir Henry Lawrence, to whose principles of statesmanship military rule was in many respects repugnant, as to Lord Dalhousie himself, for whom it meant a transfer of the chief authority in this important province from his hands to those of the Commander-in-Chief. Lord Dalhousie accordingly warned Sir Henry of the coming onslaught, and bade him be prepared to meet it. It came in the shape of a long and depreciating minute on the Punjab administration. This was encountered by the Board with a long answer, which again engendered a prolix reply, and the controversy died away, as Indian controversies are apt to do, in the expenditure of a prodigious quantity of ink. I am not aware that these documents produced any other result.

At a later period, as I have already mentioned, the differences which this dispute had provoked were aroused afresh by the posthumous publication of Sir Charles Napier's book on *Indian Misgovernment*, which Sir Henry criticized in the *Calcutta Review*. I only refer to the subject here in order to illustrate a common topic—the uncertainty of human conjectures, and the danger of attributing hastily a correct prophetic spirit respecting coming events, even to the ablest of men concerned in dealing with the present. Much has been said of the prescience of Sir Charles Napier, something of that of Lawrence, on the subject of the coming great Mutiny. Now, the facts are these. In March 1849, before Sir Charles reached India on his last visit there, his trust in the Native army was "firm as Ailsa rock." "I have studied them," he says, "for nearly eight years, constantly, at the head of Bengal and Bombay Sepoys, and I can see nothing to fear from them except when ill-used, and then they are less dangerous than British troops would be in similar circumstances."³ But before Sir Charles had been a year in India occurred the mutiny of the 66th Bengal Infantry, occasioned by a misunderstanding about allowances. His mode of dealing with this crisis, and, in particular, his enlistment of a number of Goorkhas to replace the mutineers, were a good deal disapproved of at the time, and produced, in point of fact, his resignation. Now, Sir Charles, when thus thwarted, quickly and readily worked himself round to the opinion that the Bengal Sepoys in general were a dangerous body. "I saw, on the one hand, that two Native regiments had just mutinied for

³ "Report on the Military Occupation of India," cited in the *Edinburgh Review* for January 1871, p. 95.

increase of pay, and there were strong grounds to suppose the mutinous spirit was general in the Bengal army. . . . Few are aware of the great and secret spread of the spirit of mutiny. . . . I saw the great and imminent danger to which India was exposed by the mutinous spirit among the Sepoys, the dangerous influence which the Brahmin supremacy had assumed in the army," and so forth. Such expressions abound in the latter part of his Diary. "All was on the balance, when I flung the Goorkha battalion into the scale, as Brennus did his sword, and mutiny, having no Camillus, was crushed." "Common sense pointed out the wisdom of doing this, especially at a moment when the faith of the Sepoys was doubtful ; for with the Goorkha race we can so reinforce our Indian army that our actual force in India would be greater than that of the Sepoy army, numerous as it is."

These views Sir Henry Lawrence, who has also been termed a prophet, not only did not share, but fiercely controverted in the remarkable review article to which I refer (1851). He saw no impending danger whatever from any mutinous spirit in the army, which he had known and trusted so well. In particular, he absolutely distrusted all reports of the disloyalty and the spirit of combination alleged to prevail among the Brahmins. And he called in evidence his own long experience of Nepaul to prove that the idea of replacing our Sepoys with Goorkhas was a mere absurdity ; that the mountaineers could not possibly be enlisted in sufficient numbers ; and that, if they were, the notion of their military value would prove a delusion. It may be permitted to us to suspect, without disparagement to the well-earned fame of two eminent men, that their prophecies were a good deal

coloured by personal partisanship ; that Sir Charles conjured up the phantasm of coming mutiny to hang it as a threat before Lord Dalhousie, and Sir Henry discredited it, because determined not to yield a point to the memory of one whom he so heartily disliked and opposed as the deceased Sir Charles. Still, taking the words as they appear, and judging by the light of subsequent events, it must be owned that Napier spoke aright on both subjects,—the fidelity of the Sepoys and the value of the Goorkhas,—and that Lawrence spoke amiss. No man better knew the qualities and character of the Sepoys ; he was, on the whole, more familiar, perhaps, with their habits, their instincts, their languages, than any single servant, military or political, within the limits of our vast dominion. Yet it would be a mistake to compliment his sagacity, as has been often done by his admirers, by saying that he foresaw the mutiny. Near as it was, he did not foresee it—did not in any degree calculate on it ; though passages indicative of a vague fear may, no doubt, be detected here and there in writings so varied as his, and especially where he wrote with the object of deterring from measures which he deemed inexpedient.

As my work is one of biography, and not of history, it will suffice for me to direct attention to the portion of the joint labours of the Board which, according to the division of work already specified, fell principally to the lot of Sir Henry himself. Of these, perhaps the most important was the re-organization, so far as deemed safe and practicable, of the disbanded fragments of the Sikh army. “ We have raised,” he says, “ five regiments of as fine cavalry as any in India, and as many corps of splendid infantry.”

It was worthy of remembrance, for it was under Sir Henry's inspection that the nucleus, at least, of that Punjab force was formed which in after days, under the management of his brother John, was to descend triumphantly on Delhi at the most critical moment of our Indian history—the new and solid staff which was to replace that just self-broken in our hands. On him fell also the control of our affairs with the numberless "Hill Tribes" partly within and partly without the nominal limits of the Punjab, which border on its cultivated plains for nearly three-fourths of a circle from the frontier of our North-Western Provinces to that of Sindh. On him, of course, devolved the general control of the executive part of the machine; and, above all, the management of our relations both with the broken Sikh aristocracy, and the half-pacified Mohammedan borderers whom it was necessary, as far as possible, to bring within our range of policy. And it may be added, that it was throughout his official life a special feature in his administration that he habitually took counsel with the Natives respecting any proposed modification of domestic policy, and made use to the utmost of those facilities for common deliberation which ancient institutions have created in old-fashioned Hindoo communities.

One of Sir Henry's most active subordinates in the Punjab was Major James Abbott, who subsequently rose to the rank of General. He was deeply attached to his principal; and not without reason, for Abbott, with all his zeal and good qualities, had a singular aptitude for falling into temporary discredit with his superiors, military and political. The countenance of Lawrence often stood him in stead in the controversies thus engendered. Some allowance may

therefore be made for enthusiasm ; but I cannot forbear from inserting, at this point of my history, a paper on the general character of my subject, drawn up by one who had reason to know him so well :—

October 1858.

I first became acquainted with Henry Lawrence at the Military Academy, Addiscombe, which he entered as a Cadet about a year before me. Time, in maturing and ennobling his character, left many of the peculiarities of the youth unchanged to the last ; and these were so remarkable that he was easily identified in after years by his juvenile associates.

Imagine, then, a rather tall, raw-boned youth of sixteen years, with high cheek bones, small gray eyes, sunken cheeks, prominent brows, retreating forehead, light brown, lank and scanty hair, and one of those dry clean skins to which no impurity will fasten. Imagine this frame full of life and energy, buoyant with spirits, and overflowing with goodness ; yet quick of temper, stern of resolution, the champion of the oppressed, the determined foe of everything mean, bullying, or skulking, and you have before you Pat Lawrence—the youth as I knew him, a Cadet at Addiscombe.

His frame was not very robust, but the energy which we have so often admired in him in after years, and which seemed to wax in vigour in proportion to the decline of his bodily strength, was something observable. He was not remarkable for skill in manly sports ; but he loved them, and was ever to be found where they were carried on—his head, meanwhile, full of poetry, which he omitted no opportunity to spout, in a loud voice, in the intervals of the game.

If we follow him into study, we shall not find him taking a very high grade in any branch of education, except, perhaps, mathematics and the theory of fortification. With his pencil, as with his steel pen, he was not very skilful, and his classical education had been neglected ; but he was a zealous student, endeavouring to supply by soul and labour the quickness which had been denied him.

Such was Henry Lawrence when I first knew him in

1820; and I know nothing more instructive than the comparison of what then he seemed to be with that which afterwards he proved himself—the most enlightened ruler and statesman in India. A man whose nobleness of soul inspiring some of the most valuable endowments of mind, and some of the rarest and highest virtues that ever met together in the same breast, rendered him, in the eyes of those honoured with his intimate acquaintance, without a rival in the world.

His character was original in the extreme. Nothing in it was borrowed. It seemed as if he felt it dishonest to make others' opinions or acts his own by adoption ; but there was no ostentation of independence in this. His own self-approval was his only aim ; and this minute and searching pursuit of truth was tempered and beautified by a noble vein of poetic ardour, which never, probably, could have shaped itself in words, but which gave glory to the warm affections, the manly aspirations, the matter-of-fact reason and solid sense of the youth and of the man.

There can be no doubt that, had he been born thirty-five years later, he would have been ignominiously rejected by the examiners for cadetships in the Indian army—a fate which, under like circumstances, must have befallen Nelson himself, and about three-fourths of the heroes to whom England owes her glory. Let the nation consider well the inevitable consequence of the new system of examination for the army. The qualities which make the distinguished soldier or sailor are strong common sense, sagacity, personal and moral courage, self-confidence, fertility of resource—those are much oftener found in the possession of men who could never become scholars, than of those who distinguish themselves at college.

Dum Dum.—When next I met Henry Lawrence, it was at Dum Dum, whither he had preceded me. There he at once chose the part, from which he never afterwards swerved. Dum Dum was at that time split into two cliques : those who to the most heartfelt religion superadded the belief that their religion was to exhibit itself in external peculiarities, and those who regarded such differences as whimsical, offensive,

or hypocritical. Amongst the latter were many probably as sincere Christians as amongst the former class; but, at the outset of life, the heart is easily affected by the sight of a small band of sincere men voluntarily foregoing many amusements and indulgences from conscientious motives, and in spite of the ridicule of those around them. The young men who resided at Fairy Hall were very estimable characters; their time was spent rationally, and, whatever may have been their failure in judgment, they were sincerely anxious to improve their time and their minds, and their hearts were open to receive any who showed a disposition to join them.

It is not, therefore, surprising that Henry Lawrence became an inmate of Fairy Hall, an estate at Dum Dum, which then almost deserved its title, so prettily was it shaded with wood, and enlivened with water. Still, his vigorous sense assured him that, however right and wise to walk humbly with his God, it was neither wise nor right to suffer any outward peculiarities to put a barrier between himself and his fellows. From all such outward demonstrations his excellent taste revolted, and he mingled as freely as ever with his old associates, locking up the sacred fire in his heart, but exhibiting its effects in self-conquest, increased affection for his fellow-creatures, and more earnest application to his professional duties and studies.

Although I had always felt an especial interest in the society of Henry Lawrence, yet, being of a younger class, I was not much thrown into his society at Addiscombe; and at Dum Dum I was shy, and required that a companion should come half-way to meet my advances. His habits rendered him very sociable and popular. He had many companions, and was in no need of me; but there were some peculiarities of character which we shared in common, and which, it seemed to me, caused him to like my society when we were thrown together.

From Fairy Hall he was called to join the troops in Arracan. There he was attacked with that terrible fever, which becomes a heritage and scourge for life; and he was sent to England by the doctors on sick furlough.

I next met him at Kurnaul in 1829, on his return from this sanatory trip. He lived with his brother, Lieutenant George Lawrence, Adjutant of the 2nd Bengal Light Cavalry, who was then just married, and occupying a house that has since fallen, at the south-east corner of the Park. He often asked me to spend the day with him, which I greatly enjoyed. He had laid out all his savings in the purchase of some very valuable books; and he was now bent upon the acquisition of the Eastern tongues. His fever, though quelled for awhile, had not abandoned him; it hung about him, undermining his fine constitution, but never mastering his order or diligence.

His mind, even then, was greatly improved by a judicious course of reading, and by the habits of reflection and self-examination. He especially applied himself to military history, with a view to comprehend the strong and weak points of the tactics of all who have excelled in the art of war.

In 1839 the ill-fated expedition to Afghanistan was concocted, and all artillery officers on staff employ were recalled, to join the Army of the Indus at Kurnaul. Whilst I was preparing for my departure, Henry Lawrence and his bride put up at my tent for a few hours, on their journey by dāk northward—he to Kurnaul, and she to Simla. I then met her for the first time, and was struck by the strong congeniality of spirit between herself and her husband; she seemed, in fact, the female power (to use an Eastern expression) of himself. When females enter India as young girls, the pleasure of escaping from the schoolroom, and becoming persons of consequence and objects of attention, easily reconciles them to the sacrifice of all the social enjoyments, the luxuries and conveniences and healthful climate they have left behind them; but when they enter India as young women, they can rarely tolerate the desolate contrast between the present and the past.

Mrs. Lawrence had entered India as a woman, but in her enthusiastic love for him she had come to bless, she found delight in the solitary tent on the sun-parched plain, in the

half-furnished comfortless bungalow, in wandering with him through the cheerless jungles and scarcely less dreary tracts of cultivated land ; nothing was without interest in her eyes, and she might, perhaps, have been tempted to bless the very wretchedness of those very circumstances, which so enlarged her power to administer to his happiness. It was easy to see that Harry Lawrence had found the being best calculated to make him happy—entering into his interests and pursuits with all her soul, and counting nothing evil that was shared with him. She was not beautiful, in the ordinary acceptation of the term ; but harmony, fervour, and intelligence breathed in her expression, emanating from a loving heart, a cultivated mind, a taste chastened and refined, a perfect temper, and aspirations as lofty and holy as those of the noble being to whom she clung.

At Kurnaul I again met Henry Lawrence, and we marched in the same division to Ferozepoor, where Runjeet Sing met Lord Auckland, and gave us a review, which quite eclipsed Sir Harry Fane's previous exhibition in his honour. It was here that Henry Lawrence was brought into contact with the Army of the Punjaub and its remarkable ruler, little deeming how closely the interests of that principality should hereafter be drawn to his heart. There seemed at that time little probability of his being ever employed in the Political Department, for he was without interest and a military man.

At Ferozepoor Lawrence waited upon the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry Fane, an accomplished soldier, and laid before him a plan which he had been devising for a Corps of Observation, of which our army is so greatly in need. Sir Henry Fane allowed the strong necessity for such a corps, entered into all the details with great interest, and was mightily tickled to find that, not contented with shaping out all the details, Lawrence had himself filled up the roll of officers to be appointed to the corps. Sir Henry Fane went over the list with him, and was struck with the judicious and practical views upon which this selection of a staff had been made ; in fact, there was no man in India so highly qualified as Henry Lawrence to select instruments for whatever work

was in hand. His penetration and sagacity rendered him as infallible in this respect as the Marquis of Wellesley, for it is not too much to say that every agent of his selection fully justified his choice.

Sir Henry Fane promised his warmest support of the project, but regretted that its adoption depended upon others (who might not see its necessity) far more than it depended upon himself. The army then assembling was destined for Heraut, and Sir Henry Fane was to have commanded it. He had given his opinion strongly against an expedition shaped in violation of every principle of military science. When the siege of Heraut had been raised, and the force had in consequence been greatly reduced, Sir Henry Fane left the command to Sir John Keane, and went to sea for his health. He died on the passage home. I need not say that, without his countenance, the project fell to the ground, and in every subsequent campaign the want of a corps of observation has been keenly felt.

I marched on with the advancing column. Henry Lawrence remained at Ferozepoor, where he met Mr. George Clerk, and was transferred to the Political Department as an Assistant. I did not again meet him until the Sutlej campaign, in 1846. He had then been summoned from Nepaul by Lord Hardinge, when our affairs were at their worst, to restore order by the vigour of his counsels and the soundness of his views. He had suddenly become the ruling spirit of the Punjab, but remained for his friends the same simple-minded, hearty Pat Lawrence of former years.

He immediately inquired after my affairs, and, finding that the appointment I held in Bengal was ill-suited to my taste, recommended me for the office of Commissioner to define the new boundaries of states in the Punjab, and afterwards, on completion of this duty, recommended me for the office of Deputy-Commissioner in Huzara. All this proceeded from his own kind and thoughtful heart; for, had he not inquired my wishes, I should never have troubled him with them.

From this time, and for about seven years and a half, I was under the orders of my old friend Sir Henry Lawrence;

but, as my duties lay upon the very outskirts of the Punjab, while he was generally at Lahore, I saw little of him. The loss to me cannot be estimated. It was the greater that we sometimes differed in official correspondence upon points on which we felt alike, and on which we could have had no difference had he been present to see things as they really existed. I had so great an admiration of his high qualities of intellect and soul that I should have been disposed to doubt of my own judgment if, in matters equally open to his observation as to mine, there had been any difference between us.

But his very love of fair play, his catholic justice, which extended to the meanest as to the highest, including even the enemies of society, led him to distrust his own bias in favour of the evidence of those whom he cared for, and to weigh it in even scales with that of persons unworthy of trust. The slightest symptom of prejudice on the part of one against the other enlisted his sympathies with that other, however unworthy he might be. It was, in his eyes, persecution, and he felt himself the constituted foe of all persecutors. Thus, persons against whom I had no personal feelings, good or bad, but whom I freely spoke of according to their misdeeds as enemies of the poor and of society generally, became (with the aid of a little misrepresentation on the part of those around him) legitimate objects, not exactly of his sympathy, because they were manifestly evil-doers, but of his countenance to such extent as might shield them from the effects of my supposed prejudice against them.

This was extremely painful to me, although I admired and loved the spirit from which it proceeded; but I thought that the man who had ruled for nearly eight years one of the most turbulent districts in India at the expense of one capital punishment, was entitled to the credit of complete exemption from bias against any under his rule or in his neighbourhood. Had the people of Huzara generally believed me capable of such bias it is impossible that they should have voluntarily settled from a condition of habitual war against law and order to one of greater freedom from crime than can be boasted by

any equal population in the world. After events here fully justified my views, and I should not have mentioned the subject save in elucidation of one of the phasos of a character so remarkable, whose very errors were an excess of virtue, or, if otherwise, were made the provocation to a thousand generous acts of compensation. But I am anticipating.

This is no place for recurring to the history of Huzara, a rugged and mountainous tract, lying between the Indus and Jhelum, above Atuk and Rawul Pindee. He sent to those people, who, after a struggle for their liberty of some forty years, had succumbed to the overwhelming power and resources of the Sikhs, and had by them been treated with the greatest rigour and barbarity. He sent them the same message of peace which had been borne by his agents throughout the Punjaub. Their wrongs were redressed ; their rights were restored, so far as was possible. The sentence of death for praying openly to their God was removed ; and even cow-killing could no longer be punished with death. A curb was put upon the rapacity of Native officers, civil and military, and there was one great jubilee throughout the land. The exiles thronged back by thousands, and were reinstated generally in their forfeited lands ; and, where resistance was shown in the mountains, from diffidence natural to people who had been so grievously oppressed, he provided means the most ample, and insisted upon such force being exhibited as should save bloodshed, by showing the folly of resistance. Men serving under his orders were not trusted by halves : he employed those only in whom he reposed confidence, and he placed at their disposal almost unlimited means. The people of the Punjaub—I mean the industrious classes—blessed the coming of the English and the name of Sir Henry Lawrence ; but the Sikh nobility and gentry cursed from their inmost heart those foreigners who, by raising up the people and instructing them in their rights, were rendering their future oppression difficult, if possible.

Such was the state of things when Sir Henry Lawrence's failing health obliged him to return to England ; and Sir Frederick Currie, a Bengal Civilian, was appointed in his place.

The Sikh army rose as our Sipahi army has since risen. The master mind was away, and for awhile they prevailed ; but finally their indecision enabled us to crush them, and the Punjaub was annexed, greatly to the grief of Sir Henry Lawrence. Had he been present his genius might have averted this blow for a few months ; but the conspiracy was deeply laid, and no human skill or presence could have prevented the outbreak. Upon this subject he who had left the Punjaub in such profound repose may naturally have formed a different judgment ; but the Assistants to the Resident, who were in charge of the several districts of the Punjaub, had all foreseen for some time the coming storm . . .

I need not, to you who were eye-witnesses of his acts, expatiate upon the powers of mind which this annexation called forth, the watchful benevolence, the catholic charity, the wisdom—far-seeing, provident and sound—which calculated every contingency and provided for every emergency. What the watchmaker is to the watch, that was Sir Henry Lawrence to the Punjaub. His assistants fashioned wheels, pivots, spring and balance ; but it was his great mind which attributed to each his work, which laid down the dimensions of every circle, the power of every spring, the length of every lever, and which combined the whole into one of the greatest of triumphs of modern polity.

His was the spirit which inspired every act of the local government, which touched the heart of all his subordinates with ardour to fill up each his own part in a system so honourable to the British name. All caught from him the sacred fire ; his presence seemed all-pervading, for the interests of the meanest were dear to him as those of the most powerful ; and goodness and greatness were so natural wherever he came that other fruits seemed strange and impossible.

These sketches of character by Major Abbott will assist us in appreciating one of the most marked features in that of Sir Henry ; his singular power of attaching to him those among whom he lived, and

especially those whom he commanded. In the eyes of the natives, and in particular of his favourite Sikh chiefs, he served as the impersonation of the conquering English race in its better aspect, while he was equally successful in winning the affections of the Europeans with whom he was brought chiefly in contact. He had a rough simplicity of manner, a disregard of form, and a frankly cordial demeanour, which, in the opinion of the formal part of the Anglo-Indian world, were carried to excess. Among the many newspaper attacks made upon him in the Punjab, one which obtained much currency related to the abruptness of his conduct, and his disregard of ceremony in communication with the Punjab native chiefs themselves. They knew better; and no complaint of this kind, so far as I am aware, ever mingled with their admiration of their ruler. A line from his friend Abbott to himself (the 14th October 1849) throws light on these peculiarities:—

14th October 1849.

You ask me why I call you Sir Henry. When I was at Lahore, my sense of propriety was shocked with the familiarity occasionally used by young officers in consequence of your kindness to them. It is the vice of the age which is undoing all that is venerable. It naturally led me to use more ceremony towards you than I might otherwise have thought proper, because I am a very old acquaintance, and have received many proofs of your friendship. My deference is a marked rebuke to those who forget your rank in your condescension.

"I was fortunate" (he says, when reviewing shortly after this his past life in the Punjab) "in my assistants, all of whom were my friends, and almost every one of whom was introduced into the

Punjaub through me : George Lawrence, Macgregor, Edwardes, Abbott, Lumsden, Nicholson, Taylor, Cocks, Hodson, Pollock, Bowring, H. Cox, and Melville—are men such as you will seldom find anywhere, but, when collected under one administration, were worth double and treble their numbers taken at haphazard : each was a good man ; the most were excellent officers."

The excursion to the Huzara country, to which Major Abbott alludes in the paper quoted, was but an incident in the numerous progresses which it was Sir Henry's habit to make over every part of his dominions. In no other way could he so effectually perform his special duty of controlling his motley subjects through personal communication. "He knew them," says one of his admirers, "and they knew him ; and their knowledge of him led them at once to confide in his willingness to protect and power to quell them." It must, however, be added, that this portion of his functions was anything but unacceptable to him. Endowed with a restless activity of body, as well as mind, which seemed to defy the climate, notwithstanding the fever-tribute which he had been compelled to pay ever since his Burmese campaign, he was never so happy as on horseback, escorted by his "tail" of British and Native followers, threading the wild gorges of the Lower Himalaya in summer, or spurring across the green expanse of each "Dooab" chainpaign in the flush of spring :—

I have been twice all round the Punjaub (he writes, somewhat exultingly, to his friend Mr. Kaye), visiting every station, and staying at each a few days. I have not missed one ; and, though I have not travelled in the usual style of

Indian governors, or, indeed, in the style of most collectors, I have managed to see everything, from the bottom of the salt mines at Pindadun Khan and Kohat to Ladakh and Iskardo, on Goolab Sing's northern frontier. Each year I have travelled three or four months; each day riding usually thirty or forty miles, with light tents, and sometimes for days with none at all. The last cold weather I rode close round all the frontier, visiting every point of interest, and all our posts, small and great, and riding through most of the passes, from Huzara by Yuzufzye, Peshawur, Kohat, and the Derajat, down to the Sikh border. At stations, or where anything was going on, we halted one, two, or three days, visiting the public offices, gaols, bazaars, &c., receiving visitors of all ranks, and inspecting the Punjab regiments and police; and receiving petitions, which latter were a daily occurrence, sometimes a couple of hundred coming in.*

"The President of the Board" (says one of his colleagues, March 1850, illustrating the safety of the country under his government) "has lately gone a circuit of not less than 1,000 miles, the greater part with an escort of 1,000 men, half of them Sikhs—often for days with a single soldier, and only for one march, in the Kohat Pass, with half a company and half a troop."

The most remarkable, in many respects, of the tours of inspection which he achieved during his Presidency of the Board, was his journey to Cashmere in the summer of 1850. It was preceded by a not very agreeable preliminary correspondence with Lord Dalhousie :—

You have stated (says that nobleman, April 25, 1850) your wish to go to the Cashmere Hills during the next rains, in the expectation of an entire absence from the plains during

* *Lives of Indian Officers*, ii. 306.

that season re-establishing your health. I need not assure you that I have personally every desire to assent to what may be for your benefit; but, however much I might wish to consent to measures advantageous to your health, I am bound to say in candour that I could only consent to this scheme this year, in the hope and belief that it will render such absence unnecessary in future years. . . . Your absence will necessarily confine at present the other members at Lahore. Of Mr. Mansel's habits I know nothing; but it is impossible that, after the active movements of your brother's life for so many years, imprisonment in one place can be otherwise than bad for him. Previous to your departure, therefore, before the rains, I would request that he would come up to Simla, and meet me there. . . .

Sir Henry's answer is not preserved; but its purport may be guessed from Lord Dalhousie's reply :—

May 17, 1850.

I do not think that anything in my letter regarding your visit to Cashmere could be construed into even indirectly imputing to you "undue seeking after ease." Certainly I intended nothing of the kind, and you are one of the very last men in India against whom any one could throw out such a hint. But, whether for health or otherwise, I am bound frankly to tell you that I did not think absence habitually for half the year nearly was compatible with your office or fair to your colleagues. Goolab Sing's territories can't be said to be within your charge.

On this journey Lady Lawrence (shortly after the birth of her youngest child at Lahore) accompanied her husband. I find only a fragment of a diary, in which she describes the "Ruttun" pass, 8,000 feet high, the first crossed on the ordinary road thither from Lahore :—

Sunday, June 22 (1850).—Left Thunna at daylight, about 3 A. M.: two hours reaching summit of range, Ruttun Peer:

halted twenty minutes on summit, descended thither to Bairamgulla 8 A.M. Ascent, first part of march, gradual : road good, scenery beautiful. Left hand, steep acclivity ; to right, deep descent. Forest of walnut, beech, chestnut, horse-chestnut, maple : birds warbling ; one note very like a nightingale, but more powerful. Every rise of hill we surmounted gave a wider view of plains below : Ruttun Peer, the crest of the ridge, commanded a view on one side of plains ; on the other, of steep descent, (I suppose 1,000 feet) to Bairamgulla : village on crest ; abode of Peer, who brought me out a handful of walnuts and a bunch of roses as an offering. All the village came out to look at us ; ragged and dirty enough, but most picturesquo : dark eyes, expressive people, graceful forms. Road descending round through dense forest of pine, with here and there sprinkling of chestnut and walnut, wild flowers and spray branches of wild rose. At length descended to bed of stream ; clear torrents rushing over huge boulders. Left the cold Alpine-fir forest, and were now in glades and thickets of shrub, with fresh green sward. Sun had just surmounted the wall of steep hill, and shone into glen below. . . . At the bridge stood a group, the sun shining on their gay dresses : the Kardar of the village, with his sepoys and a following in clear white dresses, scarlet shawls, tiger-skin belts, long tasseled lances, matchlocks, powder-horns. From bottom of gorge looked back, and saw our picturesque cavalcade winding down the path I had come : scarlet doolies, caparisoned horses, soldiers, Kashmerees, with their Jewish faces, long beards, and loose garments. Crossed bridge of two pine-stems with a little fear ; came to a green level, with some fine trees, where our servants were bivouacked, horses and mules picketed ; a bungalow just prepared for our reception. Temperature delicious. Left Bairamgulla 8 P.M., reached Pashara just at sunset : first three hours' road through bed of stream, rapid torrent ; crossed ten or fifteen times on bridges such as that of morning. Half mile from halting-place, on right-hand side, a waterfall ; sheer descent of water into deep abyss of foam ; mist rising in clouds, rainbow across the torrent ;

some small whitish birds flitting about like silver creatures. . . . After three hours began to ascend left bank; cannot imagine how we ever got up the steep, zigzag path, often blocked up with boulders; opposite side of gorge bristling with Norway pine. Last mile level: village of Pashara.

This prolonged and pleasant journey was extended, after Lady Lawrence had left him, into the regions of the Upper Indus, to Iskardo and Ladakh, and lasted until September in this year. He writes on August 29 to congratulate his brother George on removal to another post:—

I have had a very nice tour with H., who makes a good travelling companion, energetic, clever, and well-informed. I don't know why you did not take to him at Peshawur. He has his faults, positiveness and self-will among them, but it is useful to us to have companions who contradict and keep us mindful that we are not Solomons. I believe that if Sir Charles Napier stood on his head and cut capers with his heels, *à la Boileau*, he would consider it quite right that all commanders-in-chief should do so. He will never allow that Prendergast was wrong, and he insists that all Indian editors are blackguards, and that, comparatively, all English editors and newspapers are gentlemen, and dealers in truth and propriety. Toryism and Absolutism are right, Liberty only another name for Red Republicanism. So you see we have enough to differ upon.

At this time a report reached India that Sir Henry had been seized and imprisoned at Ladakh "If this news is true," says Sir C. Napier, "there will be plenty of danger:" and he contemplated with romantic delight a grand expedition in the style of Alexander the Great among the snowy summits of the Western Himalaya.

"I am prepared," he says, "and with God's help it will be over before Christmas, though I fear the

snow will have choked the passes, in which case we must wait for hot weather, and Goolab will be able to play a stiff game ; rock, sun, snow, all on his side ! Diable ! However, I have thought and know what I have to do. I wish they would *nab* the Laird of Cockpen," (Lord Dalhousie, who was then on the frontier).⁵

In August 1850, during this absence of Sir Henry, occurred the outbreak of the Afreedees at Kohat, chiefly remembered on account of the bitter personal controversies which Sir Charles Napier thought proper somewhat later to import into the business. Being on a tour of inspection at Peshawur, where George Lawrence was then stationed, Sir Charles deemed it not inconsistent with his dignity as Commander-in-Chief to put himself at the head of a small local force directed against these insurgents, and to turn into a "Warden-Raid" (as the Borderers, according to Walter Scott, used to term a plundering expedition conducted by the Lord Warden of the Marches in person) what to others seemed no more than one of those trifling frontier troubles to which the advanced posts of our power are always exposed. He converted the incident, as usual with him, into a text for general vituperation of the military arrangements of India, sarcastic comments on the short-comings of the Punjab Board, and special depreciation of the individuals with whom he was thrown into contact. Of George Lawrence, however, who, as Resident at Peshawur, was necessarily in his councils, he merely says "he is a right good soldier and a right good fellow, and my opinion of him is high ; but he tried the advising scheme a little with me at Kohat ! "

* *Life*, iv. 388.

I only refer, however, to this event, chiefly to be remembered as the last occasion on which the hero of the Peninsula and of Sindh was engaged in actual warfare, by way of introduction to the following singular and modest letter from Sir H. Lawrence to Sir Colin Campbell, afterwards Lord Clyde (Aug. 29, 1850), to ask for permission (which he also applied for and obtained from the Governor-General) to accompany him on the occasion. The application came, from other causes, to nothing.

. . . I have had a very nice trip, and am all the better for it. Five times I have been above 14,000 feet high. I am now moving from the commercial to the warlike side of the frontier. Three weeks ago I gave a dinner to 300 traders from and to Yarkand; last week, to a rather more numerous party of merchants and soldiers at Iskardo. . . .

I told the Governor-General that you were willing I should go with you in case anything is to be done. He has replied very politely, saying that all he wants is to have the road to Kohat secured. . . . I will be delighted to act with you . . . and I don't see how matters are to be carried on generally at Peshawur until the Kohat people have been well thrashed. I have not a doubt that we shall get on together as cordially as we have ever done. *Though only a soldier in name*, I hope you will find me an active aide-de-camp, and as obedient as any ensign, so long as a shot is to be fired. And even when peace is again proclaimed, I see not why we should not work together at Peshawur as we did at Lahore. I wish for peace; but I confess that, if there is to be war, I should like to have opportunity of showing that I am not a mere civilian.

The Kohat people, however, were "well thrashed" without the personal aid of Lawrence. He returned to Lahore.

The following to Lord Dalhousie, 11th October 1850, sums up some of his experiences, collected

during this journey, of the state of the north-western frontier, and his counsels respecting it.

I have the honour to acknowledge your lordship's letter of 2nd inst. I will have the Maharajah informed as to the armour, and will also suggest his presenting two of each of his small guns—Sher Bachas, Bhag Bachas, &c. They would be curiosities at home. I am aware of the outcry that has often been raised in England on very slight grounds. In the present case, it is simply a question whether the Afroeedes are to plunder and murder at will and to command our communications, or not. Eviction is doubtless a strong measure; but, properly managed, might be carried out without the loss of a dozen lives on either side. My brother G. seems to me both right and wrong. He reasons on his Afghanistan experience. Neither we, nor any Government on record, has ever commanded more than the plains and the ground their troops occupied, because no Government ever had the means and the will systematically to conquer the tribes and bridle their glens. The forts usually built on the skirts of the hills, to which the garrisons could fly if attacked by an overwhelming force, were in the hands of the native chiefs, who accordingly were masters of the country. The Suddeozies, the Barukzyes, and the British, did much as preceding Administrations had done. Instead of taking revenue, they paid many of the Gylzye, Huzara, and other chiefs, and at worst, when these nominal subjects broke terms, carried fire and sword into their valleys, destroyed their forts, and returned to Cabul, often with the punished tribe at their heels. It would have been a different story had the Government so ~~as~~ remained for even a few months, dismantled *all* their forts, and erected one central and commanding one, leaving in it a trusty garrison. All Afghanistan could not touch one of our entrenched positions, though none of them were strong. The Cabul cantonment had only a seven-foot wall around it; the large city of Ghuznee was held by only one native regiment; Kandahar by only two or three; Khelat-ee-Gilzee by one; Besh Bolak by another; and all might have stood firm

to this day as to any injury the Afghans could have done them. These never made a show of assaulting Cabul or Jellalabad. Thus the Sikhs held a garrison of 100 men in the Gundgurh hill, in Hazara (where they were especially hated), in the face of Major Abbott, until late in the war. And thus, with posts of ten, twenty, or thirty men, the Sikhs, and after them Goolab Sing, have held all these hills. This very morning I went over a fort occupied by only six men, though capable of holding 200. It commands the road, and awes the country ; and though as unscientifically laid out as possible, would hardly be taken by thousands of hill men. I lately mentioned that Hushora, if possible a weaker one than this, though, with its detached work, altogether holding only twenty-five men, was respected by the Chilas people. I have ventured at this length to explain my meaning, which is, that the people of the Kohat Pass once thoroughly subdued, or altogether removed, and a loyal colony substituted, and a fort or two of moderate strength (not mere serais with towers) would keep the Pass and secure the road. Whether I go to Peshawur or not, I should be sorry to interfere with my brother getting an airing. I could come up in a week if operations are undertaken.

Sir Charles Napier resigned his office of Commander-in-Chief in September 1850, and left India in the following November. His path and that of Sir Henry ceased thenceforth to cross each other. But Sir William Napier, as we have seen, kept up the old controversies by the posthumous publication of his brother's diary and letters ; Sir Henry Lawrence retorted, as I have also mentioned, in a paper in the *Calcutta Review*, and the following page from that article sums up Sir Henry's view of the issue between them, closed by his antagonist's death.

My task is done—to me, especially at this time, an earnest and painful one. I have endeavoured for thirty

years to live peaceably with all men. Sir Charles would not let me do so. While at a critical period employed in important duties, and entitled to fair consideration—nay, to cordial aid, he thwarted and misrepresented me. My pen, however, should never have been raised against him, had he not himself thrown down the gauntlet, and published to the world his marvellously one-sided volume. Still, as I have again and again turned over his pages, to quote his own words, and perceived how ardent was his animus, how prejudiced were all his acts, assertions, and opinions, I have been disposed to lay down my pen, and to let his work in Sindh and the Punjab speak for itself—mine and that of my colleagues tells its own tale. Were I alone concerned I might have done so; but I have a duty to perform to those who acted with and under me, and to the service to which I belong. I have, however, endeavoured to write of Sir Charles Napier dead as if he still lived. Better to underestimate my case, than to cast undeserved odium on him who is gone.

On another of these excursions, at a later period, to Peshawur, and over the distant North-western frontier in that direction, Sir Henry was accompanied by Lord Stanley (now Lord Derby), who was visiting India as a traveller. Lord Dalhousie, in writing on the subject of this visit of Lord Stanley, exhibits something of that characteristic caution which on some subjects qualified the Governor-General's decisive and resolute disposition :—

February 9 1852.

- Your brother John disturbs me by telling me Lord Stanley is bent on going through Kohat and Derajat with you. I have no suspicion of your rashness; at the same time, recollect that, if any ill-starred accident should happen, it will make a good deal of difference whether it happens to Lord Stanley and Sir H. Lawrence, or to John Tomkins and Bill Higgins. I think he will hamper you with a troublesome responsibility in visiting the frontier posts, which you

are anxious to see ; and, altogether, I don't like it. One can't prohibit a man going where he wishes to go in British territory ; but I wish you would put him off it, if you possibly can.

It must, however, be added that this habit of constant locomotion, however adapted to the circumstances in many respects, had some tendency to diminish both Sir Henry's usefulness and influence in others. It necessarily threw a larger share of management than would otherwise have been the case into the hands of his less migratory colleagues, brought them into more direct relation to the Governor-General, and, very probably, gave additional weight to their pressure on certain points of administration as to which they entertained differences of opinion from himself—differences, as we shall presently see, which ended in breaking up the Board.

I find among the papers entrusted to me but scanty records of Sir Henry's private life and occupation when at home in Lahore, in the intervals of his journeys, during the three and a-half busy years of the Board's activity under his presidency (April 1849 to January 1853). His wife was his companion throughout ; but, while his health was interrupted by constant recurrences of his besetting fever, hers suffered more seriously from the climate. She was never really well in India, especially during this her last sojourn there. Their household was enlivened by the company of a sister, Charlotte, who was at this time paying a visit to India. Whether to rank the following singular composition, which I find among his papers, in the category of romance or earnest I am unable to decide. The names are evidently disguised ; and it is without address :—

December 1850.

Overwhelmed with work, public and private, besides the deep responsibility of the charge of my sister, I take up my pen to lay before you a very important question—the parties concerned having agreed to abide by your decision. The case is as follows:—Within the present century, in a mean suburb of London, resided the amiable and accomplished Miss B——. Her father had borne a commission in her Majesty's service, and died in the hour of victory at the head of his regiment. I will not tear your heart by a lengthened tale of suffering. It will suffice you should know that E. B——, whose mother had died in her infancy, was, by the untimely death of her gallant father, left to the tender mercies of two aunts—cruel women, as cruel, indeed, as aunts generally are—one had a fat heart, the other had no heart at all. So harsh was their treatment, that at the age of seventeen, E. B—— fled their roof, and for more than twenty years managed to earn a scanty livelihood by shirt-making and teaching, or rather tending, infants. It was after twenty years of such toil and trouble, during which she had often been for days and weeks on the verge of starvation, and had only been saved from it by the occasional help of an uncle and aunt, themselves in indifferent circumstances; that at length she gave them offence by some peculiarities in her religious opinion, or, perhaps, by her stiff, unbending mode of making them known; so this scanty help entirely failed her at last, as less and less frequently came the occasional sovereign or half-crown, a bundle of clothes by a cousin, or by one of their friends. E—— appeared abandoned by man; but she despaired not. She had hope and consolation within—a Friend that forsakes not the orphan. Times changed. E. B——'s poverty continued; but prosperity, almost wealth, fell to the lot of her cousins. They were not what is called bad people. They had been religiously brought up; went to church regularly, twice, sometimes thrice, on Sundays, and at least once during the week. They were constant attendants at revivals, at missionary meetings, and would have walked any distance to convert a Hindoo or Hottentot; but somehow,

they forgot their cousin, the orphan child of their own grandparents. Somehow they forgot she was in penury; had often no bread; very often, indeed, not an ounce of meat; that a cup of tea was a strange luxury to her. They could find no fault with her, further than that she was an enthusiast; that she worshipped God after her own fashion, was liberal beyond her means, and went on her way caring not for man or man's opinion. E——'s youth and beauty were fled. With years came increasing cares, and among them frightful disease. Her cousins rolled in carriages, clad in silks and satins, and would have been ashamed to acknowledge the orphan daughter of their father's elder brother.⁶ After a long absence, a brother and sister of the cousins met at C^e. It was at the top of the hill, near the church there, that something touched the brother's heart. It may have been that he had often trodden that path with his father and mother—now both gone; that many friends had passed away; a new generation had arisen, and he was stirred to see that old and new alike forgot and contemned the most deserving member of the family. He spoke to his sister, kindly but warmly, shewing how she had neglected a plain and pressing duty. The sister, whom we will call Julia, wept, but they were not tears of contrition. She denied E——'s claims; denied having neglected a duty to her; and only cried, because her brother was vexed with her. Often has the subject been since discussed. The brother and sister happen once more to be at the same place; and this day, while sauntering through a new, but already neglected, burial-ground, the brother, whom we will call George, endeavoured to improve the occasion by returning to E——'s case. But J. was stubborn. Her heart was hard. She positively denied all blame, expressed no contrition, and is unlikely to come to a more happy state of mind, unless you step in; for, having some knowledge of your character, she consents to abide by your decision. I did not intend to make this letter so long, a one, but hope you will excuse it. Charlotte writes to you

⁶ Sic, but I do not profess to understand the pedigree.

so constantly that I need hardly say we are in the Governor-General's camp, and in the midst of pomps and vanities, for which I have less fancy than she has.

It is unnecessary to add, that the spare hours, as well as more than the spare cash, of both the consorts, were constantly devoted to works of charity. Sir Henry's eagerness to secure a revenue for his Asylum, even by means which some might think questionable on grounds of prudence, led him into another trifling controversy with Lord Dalhousie, which is a little characteristic of both parties. His lordship writes :—

September 1852.

I am concerned to find that I have neglected to reply to your questions regarding the Asylum. . . . In regard to the acceptance of contributions to it from native chiefs, you remind me of having said, that "I saw no objection," or words to that effect. You are quite right. I said that I had no objection myself; but, I added, that I was not sure that others would take the same view, and advised you that the point should be clearly settled for your own sake, as I understood there had been a discouragement of it, if not a prohibition of it, by the Government before my time. I saw no objection, because I know perfectly that your integrity and your honour would prevent your ever taking a gift for the Asylum under circumstances which would interfere with your public duty; but, on the other hand, you know very well that there are plenty who would be glad to misrepresent any act of yours, and to injure you if they could; and, as I confess, I do not believe that anyone of the chiefs contributes to such an institution as the Asylum, from which they and theirs derive no direct benefit, except from a desire to please you, and to gain favour in the local or Supreme Government. I think your detractors will very probably try to represent that you are using your official position virtually to obtain support for an object in which you take a strong personal interest from persons who are under your authority. . . .

To complete the summary of his personal avocations during these years, I must add that he continued throughout his literary activity, contributing known articles to the Calcutta Review, and, I have no doubt, maintaining correspondence on public affairs with the newspapers. On these subjects, also, he had to meet with some slight checks, though by no means unfriendly, from his shrewd superior. The following instance shows how the boldness of the experienced English Minister, who would have confronted with unmoved courage the resentment of a dethroned rajah or of a dismissed official, gave place to wariness and circumspection when a question arose which brought him in danger of collision with the press. Lord Hardinge had been soliciting Sir Henry to criticize certain representations of Captain Cunningham (in his "History of the Sikhs," already referred to). And Sir Henry did not think himself justified in doing so without consulting the Governor-General. Lord Dalhousie answers him (the 3rd September 1849) :

I received last evening your letter of the 28th, enclosing articles from the *Friend of India*.

It was very certain that everybody would say that Captain Cunningham was dismissed, nominally, for using official documents ; but, really, because he said things disagreeable to the Government. It was equally clear that the Government declaration, that he had used official papers, would to the public serve as warrant for all his statements, and would give weight both to them and the general opinions he uttered. The articles you send me show how the facts have been misinterpreted. I consider it very desirable for the Government, and fair to all concerned, that so false an impression should not get firmly fixed in the public mind for want of all contradiction of the inference which has been drawn. The difficulty is how to do it. The injunctions laid

on me, to prevent by all means publications by Government functionaries are so frequent, and the soreness respecting them at home so great, that I feel I could not agree to your publishing a letter to Captain Cunningham with your signature. It would, of course, elicit a rejoinder, and, if allowed once, could not be reasonably refused in another case.

I think it at the same time so just that you should set yourself, as concerned with others, fair before the public, that I cannot object to your writing a letter of refutation for publication. I quite enter into your dislike to writing anonymously upon such a case; but, for the reasons I have stated above, it seems to me necessary that you should take that course, sending your name confidentially to the editor, as warrant for your letter. This is the usual course, I believe. I can see no reason why you should not have official documents to refresh your memory, if you require them, abstaining, however, from directly quoting them. I have not read Captain Cunningham's book myself. I cannot find time just now.

I add a few miscellaneous letters and memoranda, chiefly to show how unintermitting were his efforts to impress on his subordinates the lessons through the exercise of which he had himself reached, and dignified his high position—justice, moderation, mercy, and that kind of courtesy which is substantial, and not superficial :—

To D. SIMPSON, Esq.

Lahore, 2nd June 1850.

Nawab Imammodeen (Sheikh) introduced a Fakir gentleman to me the other day; he was summoned by you to Dera Ismael Khan, but (said) he was so very holy a man, he had never done such a thing to king or kaiser. Runjeet Sing had visited him, instead of he Runjeet. This may have been, though he is a dirty-looking fellow. I therefore wish I could give you a faithful description of his person; I accordingly do so now, from my notes taken at the time (the personal *signalement* follows). . . . I am glad to hear you

are doing so well, and hope you like your berth at Dera Ismael Khan. I trust you will have no reason to regret remaining with us, when enticed by Mr. Thomason. The spirit of the Regulations is good; but I hope you always bear in mind that in a new country, especially a wild one, promptness, accessibility, brevity, and kindness are the best engines of government. To have as few forms as possible, and as are consistent with a brief record of proceedings; to be considerate and kind, not expecting too much from ignorant people; to make no change, unless certain of decided improvement in the substitute; light assessment, considering the claims and privileges, even where somewhat extravagant, of the privileged classes, especially where they affect Government, and not Ryots.

To COLONEL NAPIER (now LORD NAPIER, of Magdala).

10th March 1851.

Yes, I am sorry you wrote the Chumba letter; and, indeed, I am angry with you for it; for I think you do Goolab Sing injustice, and Chumba too,⁷ and make propositions which would soon, if carried out, nullify the independence of any native state. *As the pressure of the day is that way*, it is hard to get a dig from you, O Brutus! I have come out, bag and baggage, to Shalimar, for change of air; but, as yet, it has done me no good. I am able to work, but have fever every day. Yesterday, went to Kutchery, and worked all day, brisk enough; had fever as soon as I returned, and till late at night, and then such a perspiration as takes the little flesh that I have away. Hathaway is puzzled.

The following short practical directions may be of service, at all times, to officers charged with a duty of some difficulty:

Memorandum for Officers disarming Villages.

Lahore, 12th March.

Immediately on your arrival call the head men, and inform them that it is the order of the Durbar that they give

⁷ A small native state north-east of the Punjab.

up *all* arms and ammunition, and allow two hours for their doing so ; keep your men together, and on the alert ; do not search, but give the head men distinctly to understand, that if arms are hereafter discovered to be in their villages, they will be individually held responsible, and will be liable to imprisonment and to have all their property confiscated.

Take a note of the names of the head men who appear before you. Inform them that no man in their villages is henceforward permitted to carry arms, unless he is in the service of the State.

(Signed)

H. M. LAWRENCE.

CHAPTER XVII.

1852—1858.

DIFFERENCES IN THE BOARD OF ADMINISTRATION — REVENUE SETTLEMENT — INCLINATION OF SIR HENRY LAWRENCE TOWARDS THE SO-CALLED ARISTOCRATIC VIEW OF LAND-RIGHTS IN THE PUNJAB — BIAS OF JOHN LAWRENCE IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION — REPORT OF THE BOARD ON THIS SUBJECT — CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE BROTHERS — BOTH TENDER THEIR RESIGNATION (DECEMBER 1852) — SIR HENRY'S FINALLY ACCEPTED — LETTERS OF FAREWELL FROM HIS SUBORDINATES — VIEWS AS TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NORTH-WESTERN FRONTIER.

It now becomes necessary, in completing this portion of my task, to advert to more causes which led to serious discord in the Board of Administration, to its final disruption, and, ultimately, to the retirement of Henry Lawrence from its Presidentship.

How strongly his sympathies were engaged on behalf of the native chiefs throughout India — whether sovereigns on their thrones, or Zemindars, Sirdars, and the like, by whatever title known, who intervene between the sovereign and the cultivator in the various forms of that ancient society, manifold in aspect, wonderfully uniform in its intimate organization — the reader will long ago have been enabled to learn. Henry Lawrence could never forget that we came among them as conquerors ; that, whatever may be said concerning our right to be there, the continued

exercise of that right can only be ~~as~~ religious treat-
maintaining there a governing, purifying,
influence ; and, from his heart, he loathed ~~most~~ of
and expressions of contemptuous arrogance, whether
proceeding from the military chief, in his pride of
arms and greed of conquest, trampling on the dis-
possessed inheritors of ancient greatness, or from the
ordinary European of inferior class indulging in his
spirit of caste, and prodigal of insult to those of the
conquered race whom their ill-fortune threw in his
way.¹ These feelings touched the romantic, as well as
the religious, side of Henry Lawrence's character, as
they had that of his countryman Burke, in earlier
time ; and it may be added, as another trait of resem-
blance to Burke, that being eager and active in lite-
rary controversy, he was apt to write himself even into
greater fervour than he would, perhaps, otherwise
have exhibited, and to treat those from whom he
differed rather with the hostility of an opponent than the
calm overruling dignity of a statesman. It had been,
moreover, as we have seen, the project of his life, from
his earliest introduction to the affairs of the Punjab,
to erect that great mystical "Khalsa" corporation of
the Sikhs into an aristocratic State, at once leaning
on and lending support to our Empire on the side of
the north-west ; to make it, after the death of Ranjeet,
an allied and independent power—to reconcile it when
hostile, to spare it when subdued, and to utilize its great
military force as a barrier against Afghanistan, and, if
need were, against Russia. The rebellion of 1848,
—which broke out in his absence, but of which he
had not foreseen the probability—rudely disturbed,

¹ "No man," says one of his biographers, "ever sat at Sir Henry's table without learning to think more kindly of the Natives."

are doing ~~an~~^{to} fitly dissipate his dream. Annexation is ~~an~~^{to} fatal dispersion ; and, as is natural with Sir ... his peculiar temperament, we have seen from his papers how his dislike of annexation rather grew than diminished after its accomplishment ; how that catastrophe, which at first he was inclined to submit to as a disagreeable necessity, became gradually magnified in his eyes as an error and a crime. It was, however, accomplished ; all that remained to him was—the sovereignty of the Khâlsa being destroyed—to exercise his own personal influence, both with the Government of India and with the Sikhs themselves, to break the fall as much as possible, and, in particular, to protect the old aristocratic and ruling class by converting them into something like feudatories² of our own, and by rendering our fiscal exactions from them as light as the necessities of the State would allow.

He thus expresses his sentiments on the subject, as it were, in a parable (1850), which I find among his miscellaneous papers :—

Alcain, writing to Charlemagne, A.D. 796, regarding the newly conquered Huns, gives his advice as to the manner of their conversion : 1. By sending among them gentle-minded missionaries ; 2. By not requiring tithe from them. "It is better to lose the tithe than to prejudice the faith. We ourselves, born, bred, and educated in the Catholic faith, scarce consent to surrender a tithe of our goods : how much less readily will such consent be given by the newly born faith, the doubtful heart, and greedy spirit of these tribes!"

Hints that may (as no doubt Sir Henry covertly

² I employ this word in its common use among us Europeans ; but I cannot but observe that, in my judgment, more confusion has been introduced into the discussion of Indian subjects by our inveterate habit of applying phrases and notions derived from Western jurisprudence to the utterly unanalogous social usages of the East than through almost any other form of fallacy.

implied) apply to the civil as well as religious treatment of wild races.

The most important, and almost the earliest, of all the duties imposed upon the Board, called at once into exercise his principles and his feelings on these portions of our polity. This was the "Revenue Settlement." To all familiar with Indian topics, the very words call up associations pregnant with some of the most difficult questions that can occur between conqueror and subject. The Indian multitudes depend wholly on the soil for subsistence; what they raise beyond subsistence, and the necessary profit on capital—what, in short, in Europe is termed rent—is divided between Government and the middle men—Zemindars in Bengal, called by a variety of names elsewhere. The Settlement apportions these several shares. It is at once the Cadastre or Domesday Book of the soil, and the Magna Charta of the tenantry. On the Settlement—a document compiled by officials of the Civil Service, with such aid as native lights can give them—depends the question whether Government shall retain or forfeit a right to a revenue increasing along with the improvement of the soil—whether the village communities shall thrive or languish, whether the intervening "gentleman" shall be a man of independent property or a mere helpless client of Government. Such are the issues affecting so many millions of the human race, which are brought from time to time for trial before our English officers.

Now, among these officers there have prevailed, for some generations, two different schools of opinion—one set of disputants have steadily held that the zemindars, originally middlemen or collectors between the Mogul Government and the village cultivators,

remunerated by a share of what they could exact from the tenant, had possessed by long prescription, or had acquired, rights over the soil analogous to those of an European propriétor. In the famous Bengal "Permanent Settlement" of Lord Cornwallis this view prevailed; and the zemindars consequently obtained, at a fixed rent to Government, the right to raise all that they could beyond that rent (except in certain cases of fixed tenancy) from the cultivator. In other long settled parts of our great Empire the "Ryotwar" system is followed, under which the rent is raised by Government directly from the tenant. But in the various newly acquired provinces great conflict of opinion on this subject always arose. We found in them a numerous class of warlike chiefs, who, or their immediate ancestors, had been gratified by the native sovereigns with large "jaghires,"—charges on land, or, more accurately, the right to extort what they could from the tillers of the soil within a limited district. I find this opposition of feeling so clearly stated in a paper on the subject of the recent Punjab Tenancy Act, by Sir Erskine Perry, that I have no scruple in borrowing his words:—

For a complete understanding of the case, it must be borne in mind throughout that two different schools of theorists on land tenures in India have always existed amongst our English officials—the one in favour of a landed aristocracy, the other in support of peasant proprietorship; and, accordingly, as supporters of either theory filled the highest places in Government, the views (or they may be called crotchets) of one or the other party prevailed, and all the powers of Government were put in force to give effect to them. Under the influence of the first theory, the "perpetual settlement" was made in Bengal, which, according to Niebuhr, was the most wholesale confiscation of property in

and known to history ; and, recently, the talukdars in Oudh were constituted the absolute lords of the soil. Under the influence of the second theory, the cultivators in Bengal were made hereditary proprietors by Act X. of 1859, a similar rule was enforced in the North-west Provinces, and a like law was attempted to be passed by the late Governor-General in Oudh, but it was nullified by the action of the Secretary of State in Council. Now the same question presents itself as to the Punjab.

Now, to apply European real property language, derived from our feudal law, to such a state of things as this, was in truth irrational. The Indian native possesses neither the words nor the ideas, which characterize the lauded institutions of the west. With us the ownership of the soil is a prerogative invested with peculiar sacredness. The right of the landowner has been usually treated as something far more incontestable than that of the Sovereign. With the Hindoo, as far as European minds can really enter into the ideas of a people educated under totally different associations—it would seem as if the admitted rights of cultivator, government, and middleman, were rather attached to their respectively due shares of the produce of the soil, than to the soil itself. However, a controversy grounded on imaginary axioms, is apt to be rather more than less inveterate from its unsubstantial character.³ One class of our officials were for raising

³ The case is thus stated by one of the highest of our Indian authorities, Sir Henry Maine, in his work on *Village Tenure* :—

Let us suppose a province annexed for the first time to the British Indian Empire. The first civil act of the new government is always to effect a settlement of the land revenue. . . . Among the many questions upon which a decision must be had, the one of most practical importance is, " Who shall be settled with? with whom shall the settlement be made ? what persons what bodies, what groups shall be held responsible to the British Government for its land revenue ? What practically has to be determined is the unit of

the possessors of jagheers into the position of owners in fee simple, subject to certain payments ; others would regard them only as entitled to the enjoyment of a share of produce limited by ancient and doubtful grants, would deal with them according to those views, justly of course, but not lavishly, and lean rather to the side of the cultivator and also to that of Government than to theirs, on any question arising which involved their several interests. Such a contest of opinion prevailed in Lawrence's day, and, as regards the Punjab, prevails still. On the question of amending the imperfect and temporary settlement effected by the Board in 1850, fierce discussions arose in the Council of the Governor-General, and extended even to this country ; nor can the issue be even now regarded as finally settled. Henry Lawrence embraced with all his energy of character, the view most favourable to the native aristocracy. John's opinion leaned

society for agrarian purposes ; and you find that in determining it you determine everything, and give its character finally to the entire political and social constitution of the province. You are at once compelled to confer on the selected class powers co-extensive with its duties to the Sovereign. Not that the assumption is ever made that proprietary powers are conferred on it ; but what are supposed to be its rights in relation to all other classes are defined, and in the vague and floating order of primitive societies the mere definition of a right immensely increases its strength. . . . Do you, on entering on the settlement of a new province, find that a peasant proprietary has been displaced by an oligarchy of vigorous usurpers, and do you think it expedient to take the government dues from the once oppressed yeomen ? The result is the immediate decline, and consequently bitter disappointment, of the class above them, who find themselves sinking to the footing of mere annuitants on the law. . . . Do you, reversing this policy, arrange that the superior holder shall be answerable to Government ? You find that you have created a landed aristocracy which has no parallel in wealth or power except the proprietors of English soil. . . Do you adopt a policy different from either of those which I have indicated, and make your arrangements with the representatives of the village community ? You find that you have arrested a process of change which was steadily proceeding. You have given to this peculiar proprietary group an utility which it was losing.

in the other direction. Both were practised revenue officers; but, as has been said, the details of this business, and indeed, of any methodical business, were to Henry somewhat distasteful: John's energy was equally great, his attention to the subject far more minute, his tenacity of purpose equal. And this difference between the two brothers soon made itself felt to the disadvantage of the elder.

The character which this ancient contention assumed, in regard to the settlement of the Punjab, will be best understood from the following passage of the Report of the Board in 1854, already adverted to.

The present occupants of the soil may be divided into the following classes :

First, the descendants of ancient proprietors, who have gradually lost possession of the village lands, and the privileges which property in them confers. Their main, if not sole, lien on the land consists in a species of head-rent, which, collected under several designations, is variable in amount, and precariously realized. Under the late regime this class were gradually retrograding, and in a few years would have been entirely extinguished. The Sikhs looked alone to the security and development of the revenue, and thus, the industrious and more frugal races gradually usurped the rights of those whose lands they had originally been content to cultivate.

In some instances, these proprietors still retain a portion of the land, usually that which their own husbandry could manage. But, more generally, these rights were limited to a seer, or even less, in the maund, at harvest time from each cultivator. Tenures of this kind in all their different phases are to be found. They have been recognized, investigated, defined and recorded; and the class, which depend on them, have now a fair chance of no longer retrograding.

The second class in the Punjab, are the present proprietors of the soil, the individuals or corporations in actual possession. Where the tenure belongs to a single individual,

or a family of a few individuals, a portion of the lands is cultivated by their own ploughs; the remainder is occupied by cultivators—some mere tenants at will; the others with right of hereditary occupancy, contingent alone on the payment of rent.

Under the Sikh system of taxation, the revenue absorbed the larger portion of the rent. The profits or rent of the proprietor varied in every holding. It was sometimes a trifling percentage, in grain or money. It was often the mere right to engage for the Government revenue, and the exemption from assessment of lands tilled by one or more ploughs. In some parts of the country, however, it represents a fair proportion of the crop. The rent of land varies from one and half per cent. of the gross produce up to full twenty-five per cent. In the province of Mooltan and the Derajat, where the revenue has hitherto absorbed but a moderate portion of the produce, the rent of land is highest.

The co-parcenary communities, the brotherhood of the same clan, and often descended from the same ancestor, are found throughout the Punjab in all their integrity; but they chiefly abound in the parts where the races of Hindoo lineage flourish. This tenure is perhaps found most frequently among the Jat race. Each co-partner occupies and cultivates his own farm, in his own way, and pays his proportion of the village assessment in the mode agreed on by the brotherhood generally. In such tenures the greater part of the land is cultivated by the community; where held by tenants, they cultivate either under each proprietor, or hold those lands which are the joint property of the community.

It is very remarkable how strong is the feeling of ancestral descent, and the rights which such claims confer, in co-parcenary communities. In those tenures the public voice will admit the title of individuals to their ancestral shares, who have been out of possession for one or two generations. Knowing that our courts will not recognise such claims, a compromise is usually made with the party in possession, who retains a half or a third, with reference to his own and the claimant's relative influence in the community. In this

way large numbers of exiled proprietors have recovered possession of their land in Hazara and other parts of the country.

It is not uncommon for these co-parcenary communities to redistribute the village lands with reference to ancestral shares ; but more commonly, each co-parcener retains the lands in possession, and co-sharers advancing claims, are allowed to add to their farms by taking in portions of the common lands. In these communities it is not possible to discriminate between rent and revenue. The public demand, with a sum added for village expenses, is divided, according to common consent, on the ploughs, the occupied lands, or the shares of the different co-parceners. The quota of each is collected by the village elders and accountant, who appropriate their own perquisites, and pay the revenue into the public treasury.

The hereditary cultivators compose the third class, and a very important one in many districts. Their tenure is often scarcely distinguishable from that of the proprietor. Where his clan is strong and industrious, he has often gradually usurped the right of the proprietor, as has already been described. Where land is abundant and cultivators are scarce, the distinction between him and the proprietor will often be nominal. He will, in some cases, pay no more than an equal quota of the public demand. The main distinction between him and the proprietor is the inability to sink a well, to sell, mortgage, or transfer his land : but he can sub-rent it. The trees, which he and his ancestors have planted, become his own property ; those of spontaneous produce, not growing in his field or hedge-row, belong to the proprietors. The right to sink a well is a question often warmly litigated, for on its decision will hinge proprietary title.

In the province of Mooltan a curious tenure has grown up, consequent on the desire of the ruling power to reclaim the waste land. It partakes of the rights of the proprietor, and of the hereditary cultivator. Where land was owned but not cultivated, Sawni, Mul and Moolraj were in the habit of granting patents to individuals to sink wells ; these people pay trifling head-rent to the proprietor. The well belongs to the

patentee, as also the use of his land, for without irrigation there is no cultivation. The holders of these wells are termed chukdars, from the chuk, or frame of wood on which the well is built. In some cases, the rent of the land, equal to one-fourth produce, will be divided between the owner of the well and the proprietor of the land, but more frequently the latter will receive a mere trifle.

The fourth class are the tenants at will, who cultivate from harvest to harvest, or year to year. If they reside in the village, their tenure is tolerably permanent; if in a neighbouring one, more precarious. They usually cultivate on the condition of gathering half the crop, and as the proprietor is generally on the spot, and is himself a husbandman, he is able, by his knowledge and presence, to secure his full share.

The most pressing difficulties arose, as will be easily understood, not as to the half-independent chieftains, whom it was necessary to treat with regard for their exceptional position,—but with the “jagheerdars” or pensioners. These were leaders who, under Runjeet Sing’s government, had been conciliated by grants of rent or villages, on the duty (very irregularly performed) of keeping on foot a number of armed men; and, further, with large grants of pasture land. These constituted a kind of fiscal nobility, so to speak, analogous (so far as European analogies may be employed) to the powerful chiefs who gradually seized on and appropriated the domains of those decaying barbarous monarchies which had arisen on the decline of the Western Roman Empire. As the “companion” of the Gothic Sovereign became by self-assertion a “Count” in his own right, so the pensioned soldier of the Sikh ruler was in the way to become an independent or half-independent chief. This state of society was obviously temporary and transitional: it did not really afford a fair opportunity

for applying the principles of landownership, of which I have spoken ; and the settlement was itself made provisional only, and tentative. It was over the details, not the outlines, of the case that the disputes arose. Henry's preference leaned to the chieftains, that is, relatively, against the Ryot and the Government ; John's inclination was the other way. Henry believed that to deal gently with these survivors of a former system was at once just in itself, and the best policy for securing friends to the new Government. John was inclined to deem their claims exorbitant, their tenure nominal, and to look at the necessities of the new Government, as to a certain extent superseding the custom of the old. But, as usual in such cases, differences which arose on one important subject soon extended to minor matters.

There can be little profit or satisfaction in bringing before the public the details of a painful controversy between two attached but high-spirited brothers, each firm in his convictions and strong in self-opinion ; and I will only do so to the extent necessary to explain what was in fact the turning point in the career of both. Sir Henry preserved the correspondence which took place on the subject in May 1852. He addressed a letter of complaint against John to their recently appointed colleague, Mr., now Sir Robert, Montgomery, who half-jestingly complains in the course of the correspondence, that he served as a " regular buffer between two high pressure engines." After mentioning certain specific causes of difference, on public and personal questions, which it is not necessary now to reproduce, Sir Henry proceeds :—

But it is not on these or other large questions that I consider I am the one who has reason to complain ; but

on minor and every-day matters of patronage, favour, or promotion, I have seldom or ever made a proposal that he has not opposed it, the inference being that I am either dishonest in my views of patronage, or that I am incompetent to judge of the merits and qualifications of individuals. I might say a good deal as to jagheerdars and pensioners, and how sorely I am daily vexed about them, mainly owing to John's own line of conduct and the spirit that he has engendered in some of our officers against the whole class. Independent of feelings of humanity, I look on the manner in which these people are treated as most impolitic. The country is not yet settled ; troubles may arise at any hour, almost, in any direction, when the good or ill will of such men as Deena Nath, Tej Sing, Sheikh Nammoodeen, Lena Sing, and others, would be of consequence.⁴ . . . I have scratched off this hastily before going to bed, and heartily desire not only peace but confidence, and I wish to show you how that, if I have neither, it is not my fault.

Montgomery communicated this letter to John, as had been intended. John answered by a more elaborate vindication of himself, addressed nominally to the same neutral friend. He replied to the several complaints made against his personal demeanour towards Henry. "At annexation," he said, "Henry was ill, apparently in mind and body : he was not well apparently when he came out, and was sorely chafed at annexation. He did consequently comparatively little work. All details were thrown upon me ; everybody was referred to me. Whoever did not understand what was to be done, was referred to me for explanation. Establishments, pensions, jagheers, all were thrown on my shoulders." He went on to show how, in his opinion, Henry's frequent and long absences, however beneficial

⁴ Two of the chiefs here named, for whom Sir Henry thus interceded, were present in the Mutiny, on our side, with their retainers, two were dead.

both to his health, and to the political superintendence of the country, rendered it extremely difficult to work the machine of a board composed of three constituent members ; how, in addition, their effect was to place him, John, in more direct relation to the Governor-General than would otherwise have been the case, was thereby to increase Henry's own dissatisfaction in finding himself at times thwarted or disregarded.

Well, then, as regarded pensioners and jagheerdars, I give way as much as I can. I could point out many cases where my consent has been violently opposed to my own personal views ; but I found it did little good. So long as I opposed any of Henry's recommendations he was no better satisfied than if I had gone on my own views. He thinks we treat these classes harshly. I think we have been very kind to them. I cannot see the political value of such allies as Tej Sing, Deena Nath, and others ; but it seems to me that we have been even munificent to them. I do not think that, in the event of a disturbance, any one of them would act against us, or, indeed, would have any inducement so to do ; and, moreover, that if they did, they would do us no harm. The Sheikh is a man of more metal, but even he could do little. However, I have always treated them with the greatest consideration. . . .

With our utterly different views of civil administration, he concludes, it is not possible that we can work together pleasantly to ourselves. I would wish that we discussed public questions together as little as possible ; that when we differ we record our views in writing, when the one or the other will be supported by yourself, when the party in the minority will either give way, or, in special cases, go before the Government. If we are scrupulously careful to record no expression which we are not prepared shall stand, and eventually, if necessary, go to Government, neither will probably give reasonable cause of offence.

Montgomery could obviously do little more than

give the soothing advice which in such cases is easily tendered, but seldom received with advantage. "Hereafter," he says, "when the daily strife of conflicting opinions is at an end, when we shall all have run our courses, how wretched will appear all the bickerings and heart-burnings which occupied so much of our time. Let us all, while we are spared, do our best, and be able to say from our hearts at the end that we are unprofitable servants."

Such was the state of conflict at this time between the two brothers; and I cannot comment on it better than in the words which I find in a casual memorandum of Sir Herbert Edwardes, written after the death of his much loved chief and friend:—

Temple, talking with me to-day about Henry and John Lawrence, made some fair remarks as to the general characteristics of Henry as a civil administrator: "Sir Henry's policy was this:—The revenue: to have very light settlements. In judicial matters: to do as much justice as possible under trees in the open air before the people. In jails: to take immense pains with the prisoners, considering that we were responsible for their lives and health and morals, if we put them into durance. In material improvements: to go ahead at a tremendous pace and cover the country with the means of communication—roads, bridges, &c. In policy: to be very conciliatory to the chiefs of our own territory, very friendly and non-interfering with neighbouring courts." He remarked generally that it was best for the State that the two brothers were associated together, though it proved so unhappy for themselves. Neither was perfect: each had lessons to learn. Sir Henry would soon have had to close the Treasury, with his ideas of jagheer improvements, light revenue, &c., and John would have had a full revenue but a mutinous country. Both were so naturally truthful and candid that when they had done the mischief they would have owned it and retraced their steps. But by both being

together the mischief was prevented. One checked the other. At the same time they confirmed each other's faults. Sir Henry was more lavish in his proposals, because he thought that John would cut down any proposal which he made; and John was more hard and stingy, upon parallel reasoning. We both agreed that John had begun to adopt Sir Henry's views in many things from the very moment that Sir Henry left the Punjab, and that the crisis of 1857 had very much more softened and modified John's former principles. . . .

Sir Henry, says an anonymous critic, regarded the balancing of the income and expenditure of the province as altogether a secondary consideration. The support of the great freeholders, in their untaxed condition, and even the increase of their possessions by lands free from taxation, being the first, both being in accordance with the custom of Sikh rule. But Mr. Lawrence argued that the resources available from taxation would not allow us to maintain a Native system of government together with the extensive English system which we had introduced. . . . The chiefs could afford to pay their share of the revenues, or, should they object to that, to relinquish lands granted (by Native governments) for service no longer necessary to be done.

For the time, however, the breach was irreparable. Sir Henry has left but scanty memoranda of the last stages of the rupture. Both brothers felt that their continuance in office together could only embarrass the Government under which they served. It so happened that the opportunity occurred for the Governor-General to remove either of them to a post of honour and emolument equal to that which he now held, though not entailing duties of equal importance. John was ready, and offered to accept the political

residency at Hyderabad in order to solve the difficulty; but Lord Dalhousie felt bound to decide which of the two he would retain in the Punjab. His choice fell on John. It will not be difficult for the readers of these pages to ascertain the reasons which moved him. His own administrative predilections were more in harmony with the views of the younger than of the elder brother. He loved not to create or maintain subordinate powers in antagonism with his own. He had no more sympathy—so far as his words or actions disclose—with the rebel chieftains of the North-West than with their lords—the Sovereigns whom he had, in so many cases, dispossessed. He believed the great object of the English in India to be the good government of the millions, and that this would be rather impeded than promoted by the maintenance in power and wealth of a class whom one school termed their natural protectors, another their usurping oppressors. Nor had the many contentions and misunderstandings which had taken place between Henry Lawrence and himself been without their effects in determining his decision. I subjoin the letter (demi-official) in which, after some previous correspondence, Lord Dalhousie announced his decision.

[*Private.*]

Government House, December 23 1852.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,—

Two days ago I received your brother's notes of 12th and 18th, and yesterday your letter of 18th, relative to the Residency of Hyderabad being conferred upon one or other of you, with a view to terminating the unsatisfactory relations which have been produced between you, in your present positions at Lahore, by the difference of your sentiments upon many public questions connected with the administration of the Punjab.

You are aware that by the unreserved communications of yourself and your brother for several years past I have been made fully cognizant of your differences of opinion and of the partial estrangement they had created. On every occasion I have spoken frankly to each of you; I have repeated to each what I had said to the other, and up to the last occasion on which we met I stated my conviction that, however irksome or painful such conflict of opinion might be to yourselves, the public service had, I conceived, been promoted rather than injured by it.

I am bound to say that during the present year I have felt some doubt whether your estrangement was not beginning to be injurious. From the letters of both of you I have received the impression that differences of opinion were becoming more frequent and more acrid, and that equally the existence of them, and the desire on both sides to avoid cause for engaging in them, was leading to questions being tacitly laid aside because you saw no probability of agreeing upon them, when it is very probable that they might have been advantageously mooted and discussed.

When, therefore, the Residency at Hyderabad became vacant I did consider the feasibility of effecting by means of it some change which might remedy those inconveniences to the public service in the Punjab which seemed to me to be impending. The Residency of Hyderabad itself was not available. The distinguished claims of Colonel Low and his peculiar aptitude for that particular office, proved while he held it temporarily in 1848, pointed him out at once as the most proper person to be appointed. But his appointment would vacate the Governor-General's Agency in Rajpootana; and by means of this desirable and high office I conceived some arrangement might be made to effect the object above mentioned.

It has for some time been the recorded opinion of the Supreme Government that, whenever an opportunity occurred for effecting a change, the administration of the Punjab would best be conducted by a Chief Commissioner, having a Judicial and a Revenue Commissioner under him. But it

was also the opinion of the Government that, whenever the change should be made, the Chief Commissioner ought to be an officer of the Civil Service.

You stand far too high, and have received too many assurances and too many proofs of the great estimation in which your ability, qualities, and services have been held by the successive Governments under which you have been employed, to render it necessary that I should bear testimony here to the value which has been set upon your labours and upon your service as the head of the Administration of the Punjab by the Government over which I have had the honour to preside. We do not regard it as in any degree disparaging to you that we, nevertheless do not consider it expedient to commit the sole executive charge of the administration of a kingdom to any other than to a thoroughly trained and experienced civil officer. Although the regulations do not prevail in the Punjab, and although the system of civil government has wisely and successfully been made more simple in its forms, still we are of opinion that the superintendence of so large a system, everywhere founded on the Regulations and pervaded by their spirit, can be thoroughly controlled and moulded as changes from time to time may become necessary, only by a civilian fully versed in the system of the elder provinces and experienced in its operation. All the world unites in acknowledging the talents and merits of Sir Thomas Munro. I cannot, therefore, illustrate better the strength of my own convictions on this head than by saying that if Sir Thomas Munro were now President of your Board, I should still hold the opinion I have expressed above regarding the office of Chief Commissioner.

As the Government entertained these views it became evident that the change it contemplated in the form of administration could not be effected, nor could the dissensions existing be reconciled, unless it were agreeable to you to transfer your services to some other department. And as it appeared to us very improbable that you would agree to any such transfer, and as we had no desire to push you into

taking any step unwelcome to yourself, the Government decided not to make any movement upon this occasion.

Your present letter, in which you state that, with reference to the discord which prevails in the Board, you are willing to accept the Residency of Hyderabad, though by no means desirous of quitting the Punjab, has reopened the question, and I yesterday submitted it to my colleagues in Council.

The result of our consideration was the statement I have now to make, that if you are willing to accept Rajpootana, retaining your present salary as personal, the Government will be happy to appoint you to it, with a view to effecting the change of the form of administration in the Punjab, to which I have already referred.

I presume your offer had no especial reference to Hyderabad. Rajpootana in your hands will have the same salary as Hyderabad, and a political jurisdiction such, I believe, as accords with your inclinations. The Agent marches all the cold weather, and in the hot weather is privileged to retire to Mount Aboo. These are considerations which render the appointment agreeable as well as important, though I do not for a moment pretend to compare its importance with the Punjab.

I have now very fully explained the views and proceedings of the Government regarding your position and the proposal under review.

I hope you will be satisfied by it that the Government has evinced every desire to treat you with the highest consideration. Although it is not to be expected that you can concur in the view the Government has taken regarding the Chief Commissionership, you will at least be convinced that neither I nor my colleagues had any desire of forcing our views into practical operation at the expense of your feelings, or to do anything which might discredit your public position.

Before closing this letter, I must take the liberty of adding what is due in justice to you, that in all our correspondence and conversations regarding your differences with John Lawrence, I have always found you acting towards him with frankness and generosity..

The subject of this letter is, of course, entirely confidential. I shall write to your brother to-day, and inform him that I have written to you, and nothing more will be said or done until I shall receive your reply.

Some farther correspondence—unnecessary to relate, as it originated only in a temporary misunderstanding—intervened, and the following may be taken as Sir Henry's final resignation of the appointment, which, it is evident enough, he quitted with great reluctance.

19th January 1853

I have the honour to acknowledge your lordship's letter of the 9th instant. I regret that I have misapprehended the sense in which your letter of 28th December uses the expression of "the recorded opinion of the Supreme Government." The context led me to suppose that there was a recorded opinion of my presence here being the only hindrance to the adoption of an improved administration of the Punjab. I also regret, if I inaccurately expressed myself as to the little option being left me of resigning my post here. I am quite aware that your lordship's letter of 23rd December, as well as the one under reply, offers me the choice; and I meant that the views of Government for this province, having once been made known, it would be repugnant to my whole nature to remain where I hinder, rather than carry out, those views. For peace sake and the benefit of the public service, I was prepared to make way for J. L., and I have no wish to recall that offer. Our differences certainly hindered work, and therefore, while the Board existed, it was better that one of us should be withdrawn. That when a single head should be appointed, I was deemed unfit to be that head, was a mortifying discovery, and I could not but write as feeling the disappointment, though I hope I expressed myself with due respect. However, if I was before ready to vacate the post here, there are now stronger reasons to request my removal. I therefore at once accepted your lordship's offer of R., and made my preparations accordingly. If this latter proceeding

appears over hasty, I must ask your lordship to consider how rapidly the cold weather is passing, and that every week is important, to enable me to become somewhat acquainted with my new charge before the heat begins. I am therefore prepared to join at Ajmeer so soon as official notice arrives. I leave Lahore this week.

To JOHN LAWRENCE.

20th January 1853.

As this is my last day at Lahore, I venture to offer you a few words of advice, which I hope you will take in the spirit it is given in, and that you will believe that, if you preserve the peace of the country, and make the people high and low happy, I shall have no regrets that I vacated the field for you. It seems to me that you look on almost all questions affecting Jagheerdars and Mafeedars in a perfectly different light from all others; in fact, that you consider them as nuisances and as enemies. If anything like this be your feeling, how can you expect to do them justice, as between man and man? I am sure if you will put it to yourself in this light, you will be more disposed to take up questions affecting them in a kindly spirit. I think we are doubly bound to treat them kindly, because they are down, and because they and their hangers-on have still some influence as affecting the public peace and contentment. I would simply do to them as I would be done by. I by no means say much in favour of most of their characters, I merely advocate their cases on the above grounds. I think also, if you will coolly consider the Jullunder Jagheer question, you will agree that the original conquerors there, and their old families, have been treated with unusual harshness, whole bodies of them have been recently petitioning me for the same terms as we have given here. Surely this is scarcely justice. You have now an excellent opportunity to redress an error, and to obtain for yourself popularity. I simply referred parties to Macleod, because I believed you would be offended with any other step I might take. I beg you will allow Mac. to report on all the old cases, say, of those of possession of above fifty years, and that you will act on his and the district officer's recommenda-

tion. I will not trouble you on other subjects, on most of them you are more at home than I am ; I strongly recommend you to hold weekly Durbars—an hour or two thus spent will save much time, and cause much contentment. Wishing you health and all success, yours, affectionately.

To MR. MONTGOMERY.

26th February

The sad and provoking thing was, that where there was so much in which we agreed, that we should wear out our hearts in such matters of detail. You expressed regret, and I doubt not were sincere, at my having proposed to the Governor-General to remove me from the Punjab, and perhaps I too bitterly replied that I did not regret the step. I may now add that scarcely a month of the four years, since annexation passed, that I did not suffer more annoyances than in any year of my previous career, and that nothing but a sense of duty prevented me throwing up my appointment any time the last three years. I felt deeply for myself, I also felt for my brother, who made himself ill by what was doing. I therefore took the earliest opportunity that my sense of duty appeared to allow to offer the Governor-General a choice of placing me in the position I should originally have held, or of removing me. You were right in supposing I had little to expect from his lordship. I was not disappointed on that head, though I had a right to have expected more courtesy and consideration in carrying out the change. But enough ; my wife told you we should bring away no angry feelings. We are sorry, not angry, and our best wishes are for the prosperity of all Punjab undertakings, and for the happiness of you one and all.

At about the same date with this letter I find the draft, unfinished, of one which, from its contents, I conclude that Sir Henry Lawrence intended to address to Sir John Hobhouse (Lord Broughton, then at the head of the Board of Control), in order to solicit the confirmation in his new appointment of the brother to whose differences with himself he attributed

his own mortification and loss. It will serve at all events to show how genuine and deep was the affection which united those whom circumstances and tempers had brought into such painful opposition to each other.

In many respects I look on my brother John Lawrence as better adapted to this office than any other officer I know. My departure will cause considerable alarm in the Durbar; but in the native opinion the change would be the less if my brother took my place, especially as he has already acted for me, and will now be here again for two months, and is known to be on the most brotherly terms with me. Perhaps it may be unseemly in me saying so much for my brother, but I do so on public grounds.

Two letters more, belonging to this unhappy period of Sir Henry's career, although a little later in date, shall be here inserted. In the one he recounts the history of what he considered his wrongs to his long-tried friend, Lord Hardinge; in the other, to Sir James Hogge, then Director of the East India Company, since Member of the Council of India, who had given him friendly aid in the matter of obtaining a writership for his son.

6th March 1853.

I had in no one way spoken to Lord Dalhousie as to my position, and having on the occasion of annexation given offence to his lordship by declining in the first instance to take part in it, because I thought the manner of carrying it out was not creditable or becoming to Government, I felt I had no right to intrude any personal question on his lordship. I therefore determined to carry on as long as I conscientiously could. Two years ago, for the first and *only* time, I spoke to the Governor-General in regard to my position as to my brother. Lord Dalhousie replied in kind terms that nothing could be more proper or conciliatory on my part, and that he hoped the letter would have good effect. Well, there has

since been no change for the better ; and during the last year that our common friend Mr. Montgomery, who had been Commissioner of Lahore, was substituted for Mr. Mansel (transferred to Nagpore), matters have been rather worse. . . . And the annoyance was that these were *not* great questions of policy rarely occurring, and for which there might be one struggle, but they were, daily, small questions each immaterial in itself, but the whole amounting to a great grievance. For instance, we were well agreed as to the proper mode of defending the frontier, and of keeping the peace generally ; we were in unison as to light assessments, simple laws, and general non-interference in village concerns and prompt energetic measures in putting down the first germ of disturbance. But we differed much as to the treatment of the old Durbar officials, military, and civil, and especially as to rewards to those who had served us well during the war. We also differed in *practice*, though not much in theory, as to the employment of the people of the country, and indeed as to nominations of officials generally. I wished to employ Punjaubees wherever they were at all fit. I also wished to help sons of old officers. My brother, on the other hand, stood out for giving all the uncovenanted berths to natives employed in the settlement, which was tantamount to excluding Punjaubees and young gentlemen altogether. The opposition I met on all such questions, and as to the treatment of Jagheerdars, was a daily vexation. The chiefs and people of the Punjab had been accustomed to come to me for relief, aid, and advice. Now I could literally never say or do anything without almost a certainty of my order or wish being upset or counteracted by my colleagues. As to Jagheerdars especially I was constantly annoyed ; we had got over the recommendations, &c., as to their estates, and had gone up to Government in *unanimity*, though often against my will, for while it was assumed we were treating Jagheerdars as well as under a native Government, we were in nine cases out of ten cutting off their children without the slightest provision, while I need hardly say, that under a native Government, whatever changes might have been effected, the mass of

Jagheers would have from year to year have remained much to the same amount; and though A, B, or C might have been fleeced, it would have been for the advantage of D, E, and F. Well, I submitted my own will in many cases, in which I would have made a struggle had I not known there was no chance with Government; but it was otherwise in small matters of ceremony and attention, costing nothing, in which I was daily thwarted: in short, without any decided intention of bringing all men and all things to one dead level, which to me appeared as unpolitic as cruel, the tendency of things seemed to me to be that way. Parties and individuals came to me and appealed in questions in which I had given my vote for them, and I could not even tell them that I *had* voted for them. All this was double vexation, for knowing what power I at one time had, they could not understand, and often did not believe my present helplessness. With all this I managed not to quarrel with my colleagues, but when the Hyderabad Residency fell vacant I told John that if he chose to ask the Governor-General to give it to him or to me I was agreeable. He sent my note to Lord Dalhousie; so next day I myself wrote, saying, that for peace sake I would make way for my brother, but that I would rather remain at Lahore as Chief Commissioner on my present salary than be Governor of Madras or Bombay. I added, that whichever of us might be selected, the Board had done its work, and that there should be one head. He then offered me Rajpootana, about to be vacated by Colonel Low, but said that he and his colleagues did not desire to push me out of the Board, and were content to allow us to go on as long as I might desire to remain at Lahore. I replied that I accepted the offer, and that indeed I had little choice since I was told it had been recorded in Council that I was the only impediment in the way of a better order of things. I added that I had hoped my fourteen years experience on the frontier had matured me for a sole charge, and that I felt deeply mortified. Lord Dalhousie replied that I had misinterpreted his letter; that I was free to go or stay, and had been distinctly told so; that nothing was recorded against me, that I was again told I might stay, but that if I

did, my brother also would be kept where he was found useful. I replied quoting the Governor-General's own words as to the recorded opinion, and added that originally I had one motive, peace with my brother, I had now another, that I was in the way of the Government plans. I repeated therefore my readiness to accept the offer of Rajpootana, and said I would start in anticipation, and requested my orders at Umballa. . . .

I am quite ready to allow that my brother John is well qualified for the post he has got, but I do not know any other civilian in India who is. His special fitness, however, is *not* that he is a civilian, but that he would make a good soldier; and, with all deference to the Governor-General, I think he has gone twenty years too fast, and that already we have too many trained civilians and too much of the Regulations in the Punjab; that what is then wanted is the very simplest form of law, or rather of equity, and that the proper men to carry it out are such as Edwardes, Nicholson, Taylor, Lake, Beecher, and civilians of the same stamp—men who will not spare themselves, who will mix freely with the people, and will do prompt justice, in their shirt sleeves, rather than profound laws, to the discontent of all honest men, as is done in Bengal, and even in the pattern Government of Agra. The expression a trained civilian puzzles me; the fact being that I have done as much civil work as my brother and twice as much as many civilians who are considered trained men. I, too, have held every sort of civil post during the last twenty-one years, and *have trained myself* by hard work and by putting my own shoulder to the wheel. Six years I was a Revenue Surveyor, doing all the most difficult and detailed work of a settlement officer. For four years I was a district officer, judge, magistrate, and collector, without assistance of any kind. For six years I have been a Chief Judge and Commissioner of Appeal in revenue matters. For fifteen months I held these high offices unaided. Had I been told I was unfit for such posts I should readily have assented; indeed, I never sought them, and was always diffident of my ability to do them justice. But what government chooses

its governors and high administrative officers from the judges of the land? Indeed, it seems to me to be the merest prejudice that, after details are no longer required of me, and when I should be helped by a Judicial and by a Revenue Commissioner, that I am not fit to be at the head of the Administration, and conduct those military, political, and general duties that I have with perfect success been conducting for the last six years. I have kept the peace. Had the peace not been kept, perhaps I should have been more heard of. I may say that during the two years I had charge of the Punjab under your lordship's orders, as well as during the last four years, a single regular soldier has not been called out. I may add that I am at least as popular as any European in the Punjab, and, further, that, had I had my own way, I could have collected a larger revenue than has been done, and with less distress to the people. But I must stop. I feel I have been very egotistical. I could hardly have been otherwise, writing at all. During the last four years my pen has often been staid because I feared to write too much, and now I hesitated to write until within a few hours of the departure of the mail.

(Signed) H. LAWRENCE.

To SIR JAMES HOGGE.

March 31.

I feel very grateful for your kind promise of a writership for my son Alexander, and hope he may prove worthy of your patronage. Pray add to the kindness by making the nomination a Bengal one. I feel flattered by your desiring me to write occasionally. I should have written on my removal from Lahore, but I hesitated to refer to what I considered a grievance. No man worked harder or more conscientiously than I did for Lord Dalhousie; but, from the day of annexation, I never felt that I had his confidence as I had Lord Hardinge's. I need not tell you that a Board is not a bed of roses: my berth was one of thorns. The Governor-General was well acquainted with the fact, but was not only not disposed to improve my position, but when, for the first time, in December last, I made a definite proposition in the matter, he gave me

to understand that he had recorded in Council the opinion the Punjab should be administered by a Chief Commissioner, and that he should be a civilian. I was certainly told that there was no wish to *push* me out, and that I should be permitted to take my own time, but what was such information but a push, aye, and a kick? I at once told his lordship that I was ready to leave Lahore, and repeated the assertion on his giving me the opportunity of recalling the offer. I had offered to go to Hyderabad, not that I wished to go there, very far from it, but that I desired to be at peace with my brother John, who was equally ready to go there, or indeed even to take Nagpoor or Indore. But when I received the Governor-General's reply, I had another and even stronger motive: I could not, indeed, stay where I was not wanted, and where I was told my presence was the only hindrance to a better form of Government. I do not affect to conceal that I was mortified; the Governor-General was pleased to tell me that, had Sir Thomas Munro been President of the Board, he should still be of the same opinion, that a civilian should be at the head of the administration. Perhaps I ought to bow to such politeness, but I confess that this I cannot do, and can only come to the conclusion that his lordship does not know as much of the Punjab and its wants, as he thinks he does. My brother will, I think, do very well, but it is because he is in heart and action more of a soldier than half the men who wear red coats. And, setting aside my own case, I sincerely think that, instead of pushing rules and regulations into the Punjab, we have already gone too fast, and, for the next twenty years, should eschew such things, and give the least possible law, and the greatest amount of justice. Lord Dalhousie seems to think nothing of my local knowledge, and, though I say it, popularity. Hard rules may be well enough for peace times, but with the elements of disquiet still around, some weight, one might think, would be given to that; singly I kept the peace all 1846-47, and that, burdensome as was my office since annexation, I worked in it successfully. As to the cant about being a trained civilian, and so forth, I can only reply that I have had twenty years' civil experience, and

have held every sort of civil office, magisterial and fiscal, executive and superintending; and that, having had always to put my own shoulder to the wheel, I have had the best sort of training. I am half ashamed of this long essay, but after your kindness I could not be silent; and, writing at all, I must express my real sentiments, even at the risk of appearing presumptuous. But I know no single instance of a man who for six years successfully administered a province such as the Punjab, who was rewarded by the Governor-General whom he served as I have been. Again I beg your pardon; I have said my say, and shall not again trouble you on the subject.

Enough has now been given, much more might be added from the papers which Sir Henry Lawrence has left behind him, to show how acutely he felt the severity of the blow which had fallen on him, and how he resented the injustice of which he conceived himself the victim. I have not thought that justice could be done to his remains, nor a full portrait of him executed in its light and shades, without thus much exposure of his inmost sentiments. But I have already intimated my own opinion, that it was an unhappy tendency of his mind to regard opposition and over-ruling in public matters, too much as personal slights to himself. And we have seen that he had long regarded Lord Dalhousie as his enemy. But his lordship must at all events be acquitted of any injustice towards him in the step which he then took. He was assured on the best authority, that of the brothers themselves, that they could no longer work together: his own views of public policy were in accordance with those of the younger; he thought John right on certain important questions, and Henry wrong; and it was in truth unreasonable to expect that he should subordinate his sense of what the administration of the province

required to the feeling of what might be due to Sir Henry as the elder brother, as higher in rank, or as an eminent public servant, and one who had merited well of his country. But that Henry Lawrence should acquiesce in his own deposition—for the appointment to Rajpootana, honourable and valuable in itself, was in truth a deposition from an office long and worthily filled—was more than could be expected. And he found plenty of sympathizing friends to deprecate the measures adopted towards him, and to exasperate his own wounded feelings. He left the Punjab a disappointed and aggrieved man: a painful interruption (for the time) of a course of almost unbroken honours and successes.

He or Lady Lawrence, was at the pains of collecting and indorsing a whole packet of letters and notes, hasty scrawls for the most part, addressed to him by friends, and mainly by his own inferior officers, on the occasion of this change in his destinies. I subjoin a few of them, to show at once the devotion of which he was the object, and the view taken by his friends of the decision under which he suffered.

If any other consolation (writes one of his subordinates from Umritsir) than that of the inward satisfaction you must feel, and the consciousness of having acted nobly by your brother were required to support you through the trial (for trial it will be) of severing so completely your connection with the Punjab, you may perhaps derive some additional satisfaction from knowing that this act of self-devotion on your part has raised you to the highest possible position in the hearts of all who know and appreciate your character and the motives which have actuated you. You will be regretted by all, both European officers and natives. With the latter I know not who will supply your place. The Sirdars and Jagheerdars of the Punjab will lose in you their only friend

and benefactor, and grieve for your loss most bitterly. Lord Dalhousie has, in offering you the Rajpootana Residency, struck out the keystone from the arch of the Punjaub administration. For the future, *fortiter in re* will continue to be the characteristic of the rule in these territories, without much, I fear, of the *suaviter in modo* which has hitherto accompanied it, and has been the chief element of its success.

The next is from the hero of Delhi in later times—
Nicholson.

Bunnoo, 4th January 1853.

My dear Sir Henry,—

I have just got your express of the 1st, and am very sorry for the country's sake to hear you are going, and also not a little selfishly sorry on my own account; for I don't know how I shall ever get on when you are gone. If there is any work in Rajpootana I am fit for, I wish you would take me with you. I certainly won't stay on the border in your absence. If you can't take me away, I shall apply for some quiet internal district like Shahpoor. I don't think either Taylor or Lumsden will return to the Punjaub. And I am afraid poor little Abbott will soon be driven out of it. I will keep the secret.

From COLONEL R. NAPIER, now LORD NAPIER of Magdala,
January 8th.

I received your letter telling me of your being about to leave the Punjaub, when at Kotla, and I assure you it was a very severe blow and totally unexpected. If it had happened in a way that was pleasant to you I should have taken it with great regret, but still as one of the incidents that we must look to. I feel now greatly distressed at it as an act of injustice, as much as if inflicted on myself. I will not speak of the change to me personally, though it will be a great one.

I have no fear whatever for your future career if you remain in India: *one man* may find your independence interfere with his plans; your value remains, and will surely be appreciated and desired when any emergency arises.

*From NICHOLSON.**January 30 '53.*

I only got yours of the nineteenth yesterday, it having gone in the first instance to Bunnoo. The same date brought me a letter from your brother, in which he said that he hoped to prove as staunch a friend to me as you had ever been. I cannot but feel obliged to him ; but I know that, as a considerate and kind patron, you are not to be replaced. I would, indeed, gladly go with you, even on reduced allowances. I feel that I am little fit for regulation work, and I can never sacrifice common sense and justice, or the interests of a people or country, to red tape. A clever fellow like old Edwardes can manage both ; but it is beyond me. It would do your heart good to hear the "Sikhs in the posts along the border talk of you. Surely, in their gratitude and esteem "you have your reward."

Lady Lawrence had added to that collection a transcript, in her own hand, of a newspaper article of the time.

The announcement in another part of our columns, that the charge of Rajpootana has been conferred upon Sir Henry Lawrence, will hardly surprise anyone ; for certainly there is no public servant in India who is more marked out for it by the rare union of ability to serve his own, and protect a native government ; without examining what local claims may exist among the political officers at the various Rajpoot courts, we venture to think that the Governor-General's selection will be unanimously approved by the public both in India and England. Perhaps also the most envied political charge in the Bengal Presidency may bring to Sir Henry Lawrence duties more congenial, a greater independence, and a relaxation not unneeded after four years incessant labour in broken health, and the trying climate of Lahore. He has the natural satisfaction also, of giving advancement to his own brother, and leaving him at the head of the Punjab administration. But we, who are organs only of public feeling, must be excused some sincere regrets upon the occasion ; not for the loss of a head of society, whose hand, heart, and home, open

to all, had made him universally beloved ; but for the departure of so much kindly association and knowledge of the people out of a country which Englishmen are engaged to govern.

The service of the East India Company has no lack of able and honest men, and from whatever branch of it, or whatever part of the Presidency the vacancy in the Lahore Board may now be filled, we shall be sure that Lord Dalhousie will draw no doubtful arrow from his well-stocked quiver. But Sir Henry Lawrence's successor can never be to the Punjab what Sir Henry Lawrence was. His connection with this country commenced so far back as A.D. 1838, as Mr. Clerk's assistant at Ferozepore. Ranjeet Sing, the founder of the Sikh Empire, was then alive ; and Sir Henry had seen his successors—Kurek Sing, Rao Nihal Sing, Shere Sing,—all “ come like shadows, so depart,” before he was finally called on to be the guardian of Duleep Sing, the last Maharnajah of Lahore. The chivalrous attempt to prop up the falling Khalsa dynasty, began in March 1846, and ended in March 1849. Sir Henry was the life and soul of it ; and it was during his temporary absence that it failed. He returned to witness the second Sikh war, and the final conquest of the Sikh people ; and since the Punjab has been a British province, Sir Henry has still been at the head of its government. Fourteen years of association between a public officer and a people, is rarely to be seen now-a-days in India ! The association has been eminently kindly too. The Sikhs have always known “ Lawrence” as a friend, whether in the Khaiber Pass with their regiments co-operating with Pollock ; as Resident at Lahore, or as President of the Board of Administration, he has been ever a staunch and hardy comrade to their troops, a “ source of honour ” to their chiefs, and of justice to their labouring classes, and thus it is that, at this moment, the planless Ministers, powerless Sirdars, Jageer-less Jageerdars, disbanded soldiers, and other fragments of Ranjeet’s broken court and army find, in Sir Henry Lawrence, a natural representative, such as they can find no where else, and must inevitably be “ disfranchised ” by his loss. A people’s regret,

however, is a ruler's reward ; and let Sir Henry go where he will, the kindly memory of him and his good deeds, in thousands of Punjab homes, will follow after him as a blessing.—*Lahore Chronicle, January 5th, 1853.*

And, lastly, I must make room for a wife's affectionate defence of her husband. This paper is in Lady Lawrence's handwriting, and must have been intended as a reply to some newspaper assailant. There were plenty of such attacks, and Lawrence was always too sensitive to them ; but I do not think it was ever sent :—

In your issue of 27th January (1853), you have an editorial on the "Changes in the Government of the Punjab," on which, with your leave, I will make a few remarks, although the demi-official tone of your editorial makes it rather bold in a stranger so to intrude. You give fairly-earned praise to Mr. Montgomery and Mr. John Lawrence, especially to the latter, whose character and position have both made him the more conspicuous. There is also much justice in your remarks on the greater efficiency of a Government with one head than that of what Mrs. Malaprop calls "a gentleman who was three dogs at once." What I demur at is, that the members of the late Board should be praised at the expense of their President, although Sir Henry Lawrence may well say to those who come after him, " Except ye had ploughed with my oxen, ye had not found out the riddle." The knowledge that we won during fourteen years hard labour among the Sikhs is the inheritance that his successors take up. You concede to him this experience, but you couple the admission with the assertion, fenced by a cautious "*perhaps,*" that the very extent of this acquaintance and a consequent sympathy with native dynasties and native ideas, may have slightly diminished the earnestness of his desire "for improvements." Whereon do you ground this statement? You could scarcely have lighted on a less feasible ground of complaint, for the character Sir Henry Lawrence

has long borne among those under, over, and amongst whom he has worked, is rather that of an enthusiast wishing to urge on improvements for which the people were not yet ripe than of a sluggard, allowing the wheels to move on in their old track. What, indeed, but the springtide of enthusiasm could have floated him over the obstacles he has met since he first showed "the people of the Punjab by what spirit a civilized and Christian governor was actuated ? He has lived to see many a plan, at first derided as visionary, proved practicable and useful, and many another will so be found, long after he has passed away. If the new doctrine that sympathy with a people unfits a man to rule them, then, indeed, Sir Henry Lawrence has shown himself unfit for his position. If it be unlike an English gentleman to consider the rank and feelings of other men, irrespective of their colour, creed, or language, then truly has he renounced his birthright to adopt "native ideas." Twenty years of varied civil experience among the people of India have given Sir Henry Lawrence a rare knowledge of their language and character, their wants and wrongs, the good and the evil that our system has introduced among them. I watch the conduct of the English in India, and from the private soldier to the general officer, from the clerk to the judge, I see prevalent the spirit that talks of the "black fellows," that, perhaps unconsciously, assumes that the natives are very much in our way in their own country, except so far as they may be turned to our comfort or aggrandisement. It therefore provokes me to see the slender appreciation of a man who uses his authority as a trust on behalf of the people so strangely brought under our rule. "As to Sir Henry Lawrence's views on "developing the resources of a country," to which you refer, judge by what he contemplated and accomplished during the two years of his single authority in the Punjab—the abuses he put down, the army he disbanded, the Government he organized, the great public works he began. These foundations were covered over during the second campaign; but they came to light again when peace was restored, and afforded ground for the Board to work on.

The public will probably exceed the meagre praise you give to the Board in pronouncing it not altogether a failure.

I subjoin a letter from Sir Henry Lawrence, written towards the end of his Lahore career, to Lord Hardinge, to congratulate his lordship on his promotion to a viscountcy, and to express his own views on a subject of which later years have shown the pressing importance—the attitude to be observed by us towards those frontier Mohammedan tribes, whose warlike fanaticism has since then not only disturbed the peace of the Punjaub, but threatened the tranquillity of the whole of our North-Western dominion :—

To LORD HARDINGE, Nov. 24, 1852.

ONE line to congratulate very heartily on your promotion. You will, doubtless, have had plenty of congratulations, but none more cordial or more hearty, on both public and private grounds, than mine. Here we jog on much as usual, work rather increasing than diminishing, and much of it increased by the difficulty—nay, impossibility—of getting three men (two of them brought up under the Civil Regulations of Bengal) to agree on every military, political, revenue, judicial, and miscellaneous question for a people, many of them as much adapted for regulations as they are for the quibbles and technicalities of Chancery. However, progress is made, though at the expense of some jars. — in Hunara is one great bother. He has got us into two little wars by carrying his private feelings (good though they be) into public questions, and treating as enemies *bad* men simply because they are bad. Rhagan, the wildest portion of Hunara, is thereby in rebellion, and much of the rest would have been if we had not pulled him up sharply. I would give Rhagan to Goolab Sing, on whose territory it bounds, and whose troops have just, *for the first time*, enabled — to enter the valley, whose people he affected to protect against their chiefs. Such protection of folks whom you cannot reach seems to me

to be nonsense. You do them no good, and do ourselves a deal of harm. I could write a great deal in this strain, and it is because I have difficulty in restraining myself that I so seldom write to your lordship at all. My health is very much improved, and my wife's even more so. My brother John has not been so fortunate, but just now is pretty well. Except Huzara, all is quiet, even Peshawur and the Derajat. I would have had a cordon of small jaghirdars along the border to meet and manage the outside hillmen ; but the Governor-General and those about him, as well as my brother, seem to object to anything in the shape of a jaghirdar. We have, however, a good line of posts, at ten and fifteen miles apart, all along the Derajat, which *may* keep the peace, though it will be at a much greater expense than could have been done by a looser and more irregular system. Reynold Taylor, who is now in England, with half the means, preserved the peace better than Brigadier Hodgson has done. In return for the above, as to our doings, I shall be glad of a line from Charles, Arthur, or Wood, if you have not time, telling me what has been done as to the defences of England. I cannot divest myself of the idea that Louis Napoleon will try his luck against us, either at home or in the Mediterranean. Next to our ships it strikes me we ought to look at our guns : they do not eat, and, in whatever number, are not likely to be turned against us. A good militia and yeomanry, with a moderate regular force and 500 or 600 fully-equipped guns, kept at four or five safe points, whence they could readily move to the coast, would give us everywhere such a superiority in artillery as would compensate for numerical inferiority in regular troops. Seven artillermen to each gun would suffice with an equal number of able-bodied men taken from the militia. So that the harness, ammunition, &c. was all kept ready, there need be little permanent expenses in horses—cart and carriage cattle being generally in abundance, and even manual labour, and, perhaps, locomotive engines, being available for short distances, across country. You will excuse my artillery zeal, even at this distance. I feel a sort of alarm at the very idea of invasion finding us but half-prepared. Again I say, I

rejoice to think you are at the head of the army, and I hope that ere long the ordnance will be placed under the Horse Guards.

The same important subject is discussed in two somewhat later letters, to Lord Dalhousie, and to his fellow-traveller, Lord Stanley, which I therefore insert here without reference to date :—

To LORD DALHOUSIE. 30th September 1853.

I have the honour to acknowledge your lordship's letter of 15th inst., asking whether a simple declaration of Government intentions to the Swat authorities will not be sufficient?

Your lordship is quite right in this matter. A spiritual chief, exercising influence as opposed to infidels, could hardly be expected to give securities to an infidel Government. It will therefore be sufficient that he and others having something to lose, be made *fully* to understand that we will not put up with the present state of things. Mere hints and general expressions, however, that would be sufficiently intelligible and efficacious in Europe, will here hardly suffice. The country is strong, and the people unconquered. They have also witnessed the part we played in Cabul. They will, therefore, believe *what they see*, and can little understand that there *is* power where it is not exercised. With deference, therefore, I would suggest reference being made to Ranazys, or some other event of the sort, that they cannot dispute. The shorter and more imperious the Government letter the better; but the Board in forwarding it might write to the following effect: "The Syud and the Akoonzada will perceive that the British Government has no evil intentions towards them or towards Swat; but, as natives of Yusufzye, they must not only know that if mosques have been reopened at Peshawur, Huzara, &c., under British influence, and if, for the first time for more than a quarter of a century, Mohammedans are unmolested in the offices of their religion, it is not from fear or from weakness on our part. The Government that commands half a million of soldiers, that has conquered

all India, and before your eyes has recently subdued the Punjab, has placed its dependant on the throne of Cashmere, and the vanguard of whose army drove Dost Mahommud, his sons, and his brother, like sheep, through the Khyber—that such a Government is not to be trifled with, and will not, like Avitable and the Sikhs, permit its border to be embroiled, and its subjects to be plundered and murdered by the peoples of Swat, or by others obtaining protection in that quarter. If the Swat authorities wish for favour, it is to be obtained by good neighbourly conduct. If they prefer war and its consequences, these are also open to them. A fate like that of Ranazye will be the mildest punishment inflicted on future marauders and their protectors. The Most Noble the Governor-General in Council has written briefly: it will be your wisdom to weigh his lordship's words and understand them thoroughly."

Several copies of these letters might be despatched, and I would recommend that the Board be permitted to send simultaneously a letter to Sittana to the following effect:—

"Whereas numerous letters have lately fallen into the hands of the British authorities, showing that Moulvees and others, whose fanatic bands were, in 1846, dispersed by the Sikh and Jummoo detachments under Lieutenants Nicholson and Lumsden, when these Moulvees begged for mercy and were permitted, under promise of future good conduct, to go to their homes in India—showing that these men have returned to the Indus, and are trying to seduce poor and ignorant Mohammedans to join them, by false accounts of security and abundance,—this is to give warning that every man now at Sittana, or proceeding thither, who will, *within one month*, proceed to the officer in charge of Huzara, Peshawur, Rawul Pindée, or Yusufzye, will have safe conduct to his home, and will receive ten rupees for his expenses. After this notice any Hindustani or other British subject found in arms, or otherwise attached to the Moulvees, will be treated as a Moofsid, and the least punishment he will receive will be three years on the roads in irons. This circular is issued in mercy to the poor and ignorant, who have been deluded.

Woe to those who neglect the warning! their blood will be upon their own heads. All harbourers and favourers of these persons will be treated as belonging to them. Even the Moulvees are not excepted from the amnesty, if they will surrender on this proclamation. If they will not, and be taken alive, they need expect no mercy."

A month or six weeks after the issue of the foregoing, I should like to move the Guides, strengthened to 1,000 men, round the corner of the ridge separating Yusufzye from Sittana by a night's march on the latter place, so as to take it by surprise, seize the Moulvees and their followers, and carry them off as prisoners. Well managed, scarcely a shot need be fired, and not a life lost. Not a soul should know, except the commandant of the Guides and one officer in Huzara, the starting point to be in a distant point of Yusufzye, as would enable the Guides, by marching all night, to reach Sittana before dawn, leaving posts of 100 men at three or four points of the twelve or fifteen miles of dangerous road on the Indus. By surprising the head men of Kuble and the two or three villages on the road, and explaining the object of the force, no opposition need be encountered. A hundred men in position on the hill *above* each of these villages will sufficiently command it until the main body return. Simultaneously, as a measure of precaution, Gordon's corps might march at midnight, so as to be opposite Sittana at dawn; a gun, with a detachment, being left opposite Kuble, &c., to fire across, if needful, or even to move over the river if required.

Considering that the two Moulvees gave security for good conduct in 1846, and that these fanatics are only biding their time, and that, as long as they are at Sittana or on the border, with their present intentions, excitement will be kept up, I hope your lordship will approve of the above scheme. Something of the kind may be the more necessary if the Hus-sunzyes cannot at present be chastised.

Your lordship remarks that "Huzara is a torment," and suggests whether it might not be in Jaghure, asking whether Jowchin Sing would take it? Probably he would, though he

would soon rue the gift, and Government would be assailed by the press for "handing over its innocent subjects to an unsparing tyrant," and so forth. I doubt if even Goolab Sing could hold the country in peace. I do not know any Native chief who would adopt our plan of justice and light assessment. Huzara would not pay on that, or, indeed, on any system I got for the Sikhs, as a field of employment for their army, *not* with the idea of its paying. Though, therefore, I would not advocate giving up Huzara or any other portion of our territory to a Native chief, I think that a modified system might be effected advantageously for Huzara, and still more so for Peshawur and the Derajat, by giving small portions in jaghire on terms of military service. These grants need not only not be perpetual, but they might be periodically resumable, say, every three or five years, and might be made dependent on the will and ability to perform the service specified. These would be bolsters to receive the shocks of "outside barbarians." The chiefs would understand better than we do how to deal with raiders and marauders, and we should not then hear weekly, as we now do, of British India being invaded, because a few cattle have been lifted, or a man or two murdered. In Huzara, for instance, I would take six or eight of the best and most trusty chiefs, and give them a line of frontier to hold against all *ordinary* comers, to be supported only when a *whole* tribe is against them. Part of the jaghires should be on the spot, and part in the rear, where the chiefs' family could be in safety. These jaghires need not exceed 20,000 or 30,000 rupees. Settlement to be made, as at present, with the people, but the jaghirdar to be allowed to make his own subsidiary arrangements with the people for payments in money or grain, recording the arrangement at sowing season before the Collector. I know, for certain, that such a system worked by *selected* chiefs, would be acceptable to the people, and, if I have not acted on the permission given by your lordship last April to push this question of grain (or rather commutation for grain) payments, I beg you to believe that it is not that I have altered the opinion I then expressed, but because I was averse to

enter into (or rather continue) unpleasant discussion on the subject with my brother. Huzara being generally irrigated, can stand cash payment, but most of the borders of the Derajat having too much or too little water, would, I am convinced, pay better and be better contented under the modified grain system I proposed, that is, one in which a money payment should be fixed at each crop on the grain as it stands in the field. My brother's answer to that is, that we should be cheated, that we have not machinery to work such a system, and that it engenders sloth. I rather agree on the last point, but demur to the others. A ten days' ride would enable the Deputy Commissioner *himself* (even if he had no Tehsildars and others to do the heavy part), to take a glance at every village in his district, and granting that we are cheated, our officers must be very negligent indeed if the loss so caused exceed the margin of thirty or forty per hundred, which we are obliged to leave, to enable any money assessment to stand for a term of years. I may add, though it lengthen this episode, that Murwut and Bunnoo, where alone grain payments have been continued, have alone paid as much to us as they did to the Durbar. Elsewhere, the remissions have been enormous, and yet the cry has been great, and not to be accounted for merely by the fall in prices or the extension of cultivation. I only suggested the modified grain payment for lands whose crops were uncertain, and after I had written I learned that Edmonstone in the cis-Sutlej, and Barnes in the Lahore division, were advocating much the same system; but John is altogether against it, and Montgomery is for a quiet life; so I surrendered, and now merely refer to the matter as bearing on the one under notice. The jaghire scheme may probably appear the more eligible at this time, when your lordship may find some difficulty in providing troops for Burmah, &c. It would release in the Derajat one regiment of cavalry and one of infantry; it would make no change in Kohat, but in Peshawur it would save to the extent of one regiment of infantry and much the same in Huzara. Thus, by giving jaghires to the amount of one regiment of cavalry and three of infantry, that number of soldiers would

become available elsewhere : men of the country would obtain employment, and certain influential chiefs would find bent for their energies. In the Derajat, the near posts might be made over to the jaghirdars, the military being restricted to the main stations, with detachments of a company or two at three or four points, as Hurrund, Drabund, Dubra, &c., as *near* supports to the jaghirdars, the latter to be responsible for all losses within their respective beats, caused by a number less than a tribe, and to be supported on application to the nearest military post. These jaghirdars would require to be under the civil authority, the military officer to interfere only when called on. The great difficulty of the present system is, that of getting the civil and military to pull well together, and the latter to appreciate and work cordially with chiefs, zemindars, and Native officers, who are not under themselves. I look on the system proposed as not only safe, but as one having the great advantage of offering occupation to the now unemployed military retainers of the Derajat and Huzara chiefs. It would not give them dangerous power, for each would only have a given line, say twenty to forty miles of frontier. They would have *employment*, that best defence against intrigue, and they would, by combined skill and pluck, defend their charge, doing much that we cannot do to avert attack, and if attacked and worsted, their repulse bringing no disgrace on our arms. I should greatly like being permitted to run *up* the Derajat, laying down this scheme. Three months would do it for the whole frontier.

Your lordship's remarks on Hussunzye are quite correct, and if the Sittanw people are disposed of, we shall probably not have much more trouble from the Hussunzyes. If we have, Goolab Sing would like to march a force against them. In this case a British officer might be required to prevent atrocities ; allow me to say that I would gladly be the man. Three of our regiments moving through Jehandad's country, in combination with three or four of the Maharajah's from the Jhelum, would completely overrun Hussunzye in a fortnight ; when the country might be given to the chief best able to hold it, or, at worst, Goolab Sing would take it to hold as

he does Chilas, by keeping the headmen as hostages in Cashmere, and receiving tribute, without a man of his being in the country to tempt insurrection. Such a fate would be but bare justice to the murderers and their harbourers. April would be the season for such operations.

I have written this while coming down the Ravee ; and in a small boat my hand has been more than usually illegible ; I have therefore delayed the letter to have it copied, and also to benefit by the opinion of Colonel Napier, who agrees in my views. I was at the head of the canal yesterday, where the works are getting on well. The river is navigable up to that point.

That he found time, while thus floating down the Ravee, for other thoughts besides those of policy and government, this memorandum (October 2, 1852) shows :—

Let me try and write a few lines daily as a journal, and record, if it be only as Washington wrote, of thermometer and weather, and a word or two more daily or even weekly.

O Lord, give me grace and strength to do thy will, to begin the day and end it with prayer and searching of my own heart, with reading of thy word. Make me to understand it, to understand thee ; to bring home to my heart the reality of thy perfect Godhead and perfect humanity, and above all of my entire need of a Saviour, of my utter inability to do aught that is right in my own strength : make me humble, reasonable, contented, thankful, just, and considerate. Restraine my tongue and my thoughts ; may I act as if ever in thy sight, as if I may die this day. May I not fear man or man's opinions, but remember that thou knowest my motives and my thoughts, and that thou wilt be my judge. It is not in me to be regular : let me be so as much as I can. Let me do to-day's work to-day, not postponing, clear up and finish daily. So living in humility, thankfulness, contentment.

The following to Lord Stanley after he had left

the Punjab, sums up some of his experiences, collected during this journey, of the state of the frontier, and his counsels as to dealing with it :—

March 31st, 1853.

I was glad to find from your letter of last month that you had not forgotten your ride along the frontier. Shortly after you left India, we had some trouble at different points—in Huzara, Peshawur, and the Derajat, but it was entirely owing to our not having authority to act officially. Late last year we got such authority, when Nicholson punished the *Vunseeris* above Bunnoo effectually, and Mackeson retaliated on the murderers of our customs' officers on the Huzara border. It is not to be expected that such a frontier can ever be what is called *quiet*; but it is quite in our power to prevent its being *dangerous*. We do not want antique generals, and brigadiers with antiquated notions, in such quarters; but energetic, active-minded men, with considerable discretionary power, *civil and military*. It is all nonsense, sticking to rules and formalities, and reporting on foolscap paper, when you ought to be upon the heels of a body of marauders, far within their own fastnesses, or riding into the villages and glens consoling, coaxing, or bullying, as may be, the wild inhabitants. Such men, in short, as Nicholson, Taylor, Edwardes, Lake, and Becher, are wanted; and with them, very little writing-paper, still less pipeclay, with their accompaniments of red coats, heavy muskets, and grey-headed discontented commandants. In short, with a *carte blanche*, I would guarantee, at a less expense than at present, to pacify the frontier within three years; that is, to make it as quiet as is consistent with the character of such a people. Now they hate; but do not fear us. I should try to reverse the case, to conciliate them when quiet, and hit them hard when troublesome. You will perhaps think it strange that I should be so writing from *Rajputana*, but the fact is, that I was on a bed of thorns for four years. I was nominal head of the administration, with virtually less power than a member, as the opinions of the members were more favourably received

at head quarters than mine. I therefore only stayed while I thought I could be useful, and now, here I am, 700 miles off, dealing with a perfectly different people, sons of the sun and moon, and proud of their antiquity, as the Sikhs were of their parvenuism. Some men would like the change, I do not, and should prefer to have something more definite and satisfactory to do for my 6,600*l.* a year, than to watch the wayward fancies of a score of effete princes. On private, as well as public grounds, I was sorry to leave the Punjab. There, I had many friends, Native as well as European; there I had the fruit of fourteen years' labour before me. Here, I have everything to learn except the language, and, even in a political office, there is much to learn and read, the records alone being a library of folios that a twelvemonth will hardly master.

I will deliver your lordship's message to my friend, Colonel Napier. We have both often thought and talked of New Zealand since you left us. You seem to forget that I also talked with you on the subject, as I then said I would gladly go to New Zealand as Governor, and I would do so with the view of eventually settling there, though, perhaps, not at Canterbury. More than ever I feel that my career in India had better close. Your sketch of home politics is very interesting. I wish you had said something as to what is doing for the home defences. I am anxious to hear that a formidable artillery—500 or 600 guns—are always kept equipped, ready to move on points of the coast. Guns do not eat at all proportionably to their value. We can afford to be weak in soldiers of the line, if we have good and ample artillery, with yeomanry and militia to take up points in entrenched positions, and dispute every inch of ground. I am very glad you have Lord Hardinge as Commander-in-Chief. Though I have no friend in Lord Dalhousie, I have no desire he should leave India. He is an able Governor-General, and is not likely to enter on more wars. As Rome advanced because the consuls served only a year, so I fear does British India, because so many in power have such short careers.

P.S.—The Indus never could be a safe boundary. We are now safe from all but robbers, and could destroy in detail any army debouching from the Khyber; but were the Afghans at Peshawur, we should have there an army with guns watching their opportunities.

It has been my duty to bring before the reader, almost too profusely, the testimonies of contemporaries to the achievements of Sir Henry Lawrence in his government, both supreme and joint, of the Punjab, but I cannot conclude this chapter without adding one more, which appears to me to recapitulate them in a very striking manner, although perhaps too much forgetting his associates in the homage paid to himself, from an article in the *Westminster Review* (October 1858):—

Certainly, among the marvels achieved by Englishmen in India, there is nothing equal to the pacification of the Punjab. The genius of our country for dominion was never more strikingly demonstrated. The history of the Punjab proves by how just a title we hold the place of the ancient Romans as the true *Domini rerum*. The wisdom and beneficence of our rule were never more clearly vindicated than by the present condition and conduct of the Sikhs. All this is due to Henry Lawrence. It was his genius which conceived and carried through that system to which we owe the preservation of India. The work which he undertook in the Punjab was nothing short of an absolute reconstruction of the state. In five short years he had done it. He had brought order out of chaos—law out of anarchy—peace out of war. He had broken up the feudal system, and established a direct relation between the government and people. He had dissolved the power of the great Sirdars. He had disbanded a vast Praetorian army, and disarmed a whole population. He had made Lahore as safe to the Englishman as Calcutta. And all this he had done without any recourse to violence, and with scarcely a murmur on the part of the conquered people.

Even the chiefs, who saw themselves deprived of almost sovereign power, accepted quietly, almost without exception, the new condition of things. As for the mass of the people, they had abundant reason to be satisfied with a change, which, for the first time, gave them security for life and property, and all that immense practical good which, let the critics of our Indian dominion say what they will, invariably attends the presence of the British constable in any part of the world

In regard to the tenure of land, the most important, perhaps, of all the questions between sovereign and people in India, the measures adopted by Sir Henry Lawrence are a model for all future Indian government, and admirably illustrate his rare sagacity and judgment. The transfer of the lands usurped by the great Sirdars was so made as scarcely to draw a complaint even from the dispossessed holders. The resumption of estates was made to bear as lightly as possible on the existing proprietors. Every respect was paid to old-established rights and local customs. The private jaghirdars—an exceptional class who hold by special tenure for eminent military service—were left in full possession; and fresh grants liberally made to those who had done similar service for us. Life pensions were granted to others whom the rigorous justice of the British collectors could not recognize, and every possible means adopted to render the change of government as little harsh to the upper classes as was consistent with the interests of the general community. The land-tax was reduced by one-fourth, yet the total revenue, even in the second year of the annexation, had reached the full amount ever realized by Runjeet Sing.

CHAPTER XVIII.

JANUARY 1858—MARCH 1857.

RAJPOOTANA—MOUNT ABOO: FAMILY LIFE THERE—FUNCTIONS OF THE RAJPOOTANA AGENCY—CONDUCT TOWARDS HIS SUBORDINATES—THE KEROWLEE SUCCESSION—ADOPTION IN RAJPOOTANA—PUNJAUB AFFAIRS—DEATH OF LADY LAWRENCE—INFANTICIDE IN RAJPOOTANA—SUTTEE: GAOL REFORMS—PROJECTED ASYLUM AT OOTACAMUND—LORD DALHOUSIE SUCCEEDED BY LORD CANNING—APPOINTMENT TO THE CHIEF COMMISSIONERSHIP OF OUDH.

SIR HENRY's appointment to the Agency in Rajpootana was thus announced by letter from the Secretary to Government :

Fort William, 28th January 1853.

SIR—I have the honour to inform you, that as you have demi-officially made known to the Governor-General your willingness to accept the office of Agent to the Governor-General in Rajpootana, his lordship in Council has been pleased to appoint you to that agency, on the same salary as that drawn by you at Lahore, viz. 5,500 rupees per mensem. In doing so, his Lordship in Council gladly avails himself of this opportunity to convey to you assurances of the high sense which he entertains of the ability, energy, zeal, and judgment which you have displayed in the discharge of the duties of your important office as President of the Board of Administration at Lahore. Success beyond all expectation has attended the exertions of that body for the pacification and settlement of the new provinces; and the Governor-General in Council desires to offer his best and most cordial

thanks and applause to you, who, during that time, have presided over its deliberations.

Early in 1853, accordingly, Sir Henry left Lahore in order to take charge of his new office. His journey was by Umballa to Jeypore and Ajmere. The latter city, two hundred miles south-west of Agra, forms, with its territory, a small British "enclave" among the Native States of Rajpootana, and is, consequently, selected as the ordinary residence of the Agent.

For the benefit of those among my readers who may not have made Indian affairs their study, it may not be superfluous to mention that this region termed Rajpootana occupies an area in the North-West of India about equal to that of France, and, with the small exception of Ajmere—already mentioned—is under Native rule. It is divided between eighteen sovereign States, the largest—Marwar—about the size of Ireland; some of the smallest scarcely exceeding that of English counties. Distance from the sea, absence of mountains and large rivers, a climate subject to extremes of heat, alternating, in some parts, with considerable cold, render this, upon the whole, one of the least attractive portions of the great peninsula. The business of the Agent, however, required frequent visits to the separate portions of it, and abundant locomotion; and to this occupation, as we have seen, Sir Henry's temperament was by no means adverse. For the summer heats the Agent and Lady Lawrence had an allotted retreat at Mount Aboo. This spot is situated in the territory of Serohee, in the south of Rajpootana, near the western extremity of the Aravilli mountains, but forming an outlying ridge nearly 5,000 feet above the sea. Half-

way to its summit stands the great place of worship of the Jains—a group of four temples, arranged in the form of a cross. "It is," says Colonel Tod, "beyond controversy, the most superb of all the temples of India; and there is not an edifice, besides the Taj Mahal, which can approach it." The summit itself was selected by Government in 1847 as a sanitary retreat, "from the moderate temperature arising from its great elevation, the beauty of the scenery, the fertility of the valleys, and the fine sites for building." Such was to be now the principal residence of the wandering couple, and the last stage of the earthly pilgrimage of one of them. But farther description of it must be given in Lady Lawrence's own words to her son Alexander in England, June 1853:—

Our house here stands on a high granite rock, round the edge of which are some flower-beds of artificial soil not much bigger than cheesecakes. With diligent watering these produce roses, geraniums, passionflowers, Cape heath, petunia, and a few others, *one* thriving honeysuckle. From our own bedroom is a door leading into a little thatched verandah and out upon the tiny garden, which is in shade till 8 A.M. Here I greatly enjoy sitting, looking over our rock down into the lake, surrounded by rock and wood. There is a delightful variety of birds, all very tame. I like to watch the kites sailing in circles high up and the busy little swallows skimming zig-zag among them unmolested. There is a sweet little bird, just the size of a robin, and as tame; but our bird is of a shiny purple black, with scarlet under the tail and white bars on the wings, seen when he flies. Then we have a lovely little hummingbird, not so tiny nor so brilliant as the West Indian, but the same form. I love to see it hovering like a butterfly over a flower, then plunging in its long, slender beak and sucking the honey. Altogether there is great enjoyment here, of which the greatest to me is the tranquillity and the quiet enjoyment of your father's society, such as we have

never known since we left Nepaul. We do miss many dear friends in the Punjaub ; but to me this is more than made up by having more of papa. The society of the place consists of about a dozen families belonging to this Agency and about twenty of the officers belonging to H.M.'s regiment now at Deesa.

Lady Lawrence's own feelings at the change—broken in health as she by this time was, and suffering acutely from the necessity of parting with her second boy, Henry, who had arrived at the age which rendered his departure for England unavoidable—may be collected from the following half humorous, half melancholy letter addressed to her friend, Lady Edwardes, who had just now to pass through a similar transfer of location :—

MY DEAR EMMA,—

23rd February 1853.

You have been very often in my thoughts since I heard of you being ordered to Huzara. At first I was dismayed for you, as it seems a formidable thing for you to go to so lonely a place without a house fit to receive you, for Herbert would never put you into Major Abbott's den—a mud umbrella, surrounded by stagnant water and filthy huts, with an exhilarating view of the gallows standing amid rice swamps. But now I see matters in a fairer light. The want of a dwelling at Huzara will make your going to the hills a *must* instead of a *may*, and this is the best thing that could happen you. Yes, I am cruel enough to say so, for the looker-on sees most of the game, and we are cruel enough to see plainly that a timely sojourn in a good climate will, to all human foresight, preserve you in health sufficient to weather out your Indian time. The uprooting from Jullunder is sad work. I feel for you as I did for myself in my first uprooting in 1838, when I had struck my roots into Allahabad, and thought we should there have years of comfort, with Alick then just born. My household gods were not so

numerous or so pretty as yours, but, such as they were, I well remember the pain of giving them up ; of putting prices on all the things I had gathered to beautify our home. The effect of the lesson has lasted, in giving me utter indifference to those things which perish in the using ; in binding me closer to that within which makes the home. . . . You are one who wants another to turn to when you droop under sickness or anxiety ; a more amiable nature than mine, for, if I cannot have my husband and children, I would fain go like a wild beast into a den, and there howl it out alone.

The prospects and duties of his new situation were thus described to Sir Henry by the departing Agent, Colonel Low. It only shows how little is known (naturally enough) in one part of our vast Indian Empire of what is really passing in another, that Colonel Low should have thought it necessary to instruct his successor as to the character and temper of Lord Dalhousie :—

Calcutta, Feb. 20th, 1853.

You know the Governor-General as well as I do, and therefore I need not say anything about his general disposition ; but I may as well tell you that in regard to the Rajpoot states he is particularly anxious to avoid interference with the internal administration of any one of them, unless forced upon him somewhere for a time by a minority and extreme confusion of affairs—such, for instance, as has happened at Kerowlee. So that the Rajpoot rulers pay their tribute to us, and abstain from serious aggression on their neighbours, his Lordship is quite content with the general state of things in that part of India being such as it is at present. Of course he would be rather pleased than otherwise at seeing such improvements in their general state of civilization and habits of internal government as can be brought about, or rather as can be aided by our quiet and unobtrusive advice, when favourable opportunities occur for giving such advice. In short, Lord Dalhousie wants the

Rajpoot rulers to do their own internal work, and not that it should be done for them by British officers ; and I think that Lord Dalhousie thinks better of an Agent who does not trouble him with many reports. He mentioned particularly that — and — “wrote too many despatches.”

The duties to be now undertaken by Sir Henry, though not such as to satisfy the cravings of his active and ambitious spirit, were, as may be supposed, by no means of a trifling character. Eighteen Native states were under his supervision. The personal characters of their rulers, their intricate family rights and disputes, the state of their finances, the character of their government,—all these were continually under his consideration in the reports of his assistants. And scarcely second to this category of subjects in constant demand on his time and thought was the supervision of the assistants themselves ; some of them full of the energy and activity which he valued so much, but apt from the very abundance of those qualities, to “make work” and fall into the too general Anglo-Indian sin of excessive correspondence ; some whom it was necessary to spur on in their track, others for whom the spur was unavailing. For both these great branches of his duty Sir Henry possessed that one peculiar fitness of which these pages have already exhibited so many examples ; his thorough kindness and sympathetic character. With the Native chiefs he soon made himself as intimate and as popular in Rajpootana as he had been in the Punjaub. “Traditionally,” says Sir John Kaye,¹ “the Rajpoots were a brave, a noble, a chivalrous race of men ; but in fact there was little nobility left in them. The strong hand of the

¹ *Lives of Indian Officers*, ii. p. 309.

British Government, which had yielded them protection and maintained them in peace, had enervated and enfeebled the national character, and had not nurtured the growth of any better qualities than those which it had subdued. They had ceased to be a race of warriors, and had become a race of debauchees." It was one of the specialities of Henry Lawrence that he could discern whatever principles of good were latent under the mass of evil which mortified pride and engrossing indolence, and the sense of hopeless dependence on foreign masters, whose iron grasp was only softened in appearance by the silk glove of etiquette and established courtesies, had accumulated among these titular successors of famous warriors of old. He reaped, as has been said, his reward in their affection for himself. But the three years which he passed in Rajpootana were of course quite insufficient to ripen such seed as he may perchance have sown: he could only add one more name to those of our many able administrators from whom the Indian public has drawn comparatively little advantage on account of the rapidity of their transfer from one great province to another. "The affection," says a close observer of his conduct, "which he inspired among the natives with whom he came in contact, I never saw equalled. The high admiration and high esteem in which he was held by the chief of Rajpootana are well known. The Rao Rajah of Kerowlee, when he heard of Sir Henry's death, 'was deeply grieved, and abstained from food for several days.' "

Nor were similar points of his character exhibited to less advantage in dealing with his own subordinates. Besides higher qualifications, he possessed, in an eminent degree, a quality which can hardly be called

a merit, but which often stands its possessor even in greater stead than more exalted merits; readiness to take interest in the concerns of others. Many a man, with the best and kindest intentions towards his associates and subordinates, and without any degree of haughtiness on his own part, fails in winning affection, perhaps in obtaining personal success, because he cannot bring himself to feel or to act this kind of sympathy with them in their affairs and their progress. Such a man avoids close personal intercourse except on business subjects, not from pride or unamiableness, but because he derives no pleasure from it, and is annoyed by the necessity for it. He is not what the Greeks called "anthropologous," which Sir Henry was to a very great extent. Without being exactly of what are termed social habits, he loved companionship, and to have around him those in whom he took interest, and who repaid it. I have found among the records of this part of his life a curious indication of his habits in making acquaintance with his new set of subordinates. On some of their earliest reports, respectively, he has endorsed a kind of summary of their character as it struck him, e.g., "—, political agent at —, amiable and not without ability, but priggish, and must have his own way," and so forth. There are few ambitions and active young assistants who would not rather be anxious that they were noticed in this way by a popular chief, even though praise were mixed with disparagement, than that they were left in the cold shade of impartial silence.

Sir Henry Lawrence's characteristic of personal amiability was not altogether a gift of nature. His temper was naturally hot and impetuous; it was by self-

discipline and constant watchfulness that he kept it in subjection ; and the original man occasionally came to the surface to the last. He is thus described in the little work by Kavanagh, *How I Won the Victoria Cross*, page 26 :—

I knew Sir H. Lawrence first in 1841, in which year he was assistant to Sir George Clerk, the political agent of the Sikh States, whose ability, activity, and prudence, at a very critical stage of our relations with the Lahore Durbar, obtained for him the reputation which he has since maintained.* I was a clerk in his office, and daily saw him ; he was then an impetuous and indefatigable officer, and so wholly absorbed by public duties that he neglected his person and left himself scarcely any time for recreation. He had little of that gentleness of temper which afterwards grew upon him, and, although very accessible, was not always agreeable to natives. He was rather impatient, and not so practical a philanthropist as he afterwards became. A good, straightforward, native gentleman was sure to be treated with courtesy and with a cordiality that filled him with pleasure, but woe to the intriguer or deceiver. These Captain Lawrence met with a stern aspect and sent sneaking away in fear and trembling. His brusque manner, grotesque appearance, and shrewd sharp look attracted the notice of strangers at once, who always left him impressed with the feeling that he was no ordinary man. His mind and body were always in a state of tension, and both alike were denied proper rest.

A friend of his family, Miss Lewin, says in a letter : “On one occasion, in all the harass of preparing the Residency of Lucknow for the siege, Sir Henry so far forgot himself as to swear at my brother, and reprove him groundlessly ; he had the Christian manliness to acknowledge his fault a day or two afterwards, and make an apology to a young subaltern, whom he had, moreover, loaded with kindnesses.” I have found

among Sir Henry's papers of earlier date the draft of a careful and elaborate apology, or rather explanation, addressed to an official in the Punjaub, whom in hot haste he had called a "blackguard."

Without question, one of the causes which contributed to gain him the affection of those brought in contact with him was his singular liberality as well as disinterestedness in respect of money. I have already said perhaps more than enough on this subject; yet it requires to be distinctly borne in mind, in order fully to understand both his temperament and his influence.

How long I may remain in India (he wrote about this time from Rajpootana to his old friend Sir George Clerk *), if I live to return, will depend on the circumstances; but at present I have no vision before me of the few acres which you tell me would content you; though, curious enough, I was told very lately by a friend that she had left me her best farm, in the south of England, in her will. But I must confess the ungrateful fact, I am a discontented man. I don't want money: I have more than ample. You know how simple are my tastes, how few my wants. Well, I have two lakhs of rupees, of which each of my children has 5,000*l.*, and I have another 5,000*l.* to spare, so that I hardly care to save any more. Money, therefore, is not my aim; but I do desire to wipe away the stain cast upon me by Lord Dalhousie. On this account I really believe I would have gone to Oudh had it been offered me, though the chances are that the labours and vexations there would have killed me, as those at Lahore nearly did.

It has been already said, however, that like most generous and sanguine men, Sir Henry underestimated the claims which ordinary prudence, as understood by the world, would have instituted on behalf of a family. No success or salary could ever

* KAYE, *Lives of Indian Officers*, ii. 314.

have made a rich man of him. No wonder, when such entries are constantly met with among his papers as one of a loan of 4,000 rupees to a young subaltern in Rajpootana, towards whom he seems to have been under no obligation, except what arose from a knowledge of his distress, and such letters as the following (from Dr. Smith, then editor of the *Calcutta Review*) :—

Howrah, near Calcutta, 9th August 1854.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY LAWRENCE,—

I SHOULD have answered your last very kind letter immediately, but that just before I got it I had asked Nil Main Mittra (who, you may remember, was indebted to you for the means of proceeding as a student to Rurki College) to give me copies of his certificates, that I might transmit them to you. I was in daily expectation of receiving these documents; but Nil Main has been sick, and it was only yesterday that he came to me and brought them. You will, I am sure, be glad to see that your kind gift has not been thrown away, but that your *protégé* was the first student of his year. He seems a fine lad, and I hope he will not fall asleep now, but will continue to make progress, and will be a credit to you and to our institution. I think that Mr. Mackay has still some portion of that money in his hand that you gave for the purpose of sending some young men to Rurki; and, if I mistake not, he told me that he had more than once written to you to ask what to do with it, and had got no answer. If this be so, I think we shall be able to apply it to its original purpose by sending another young man there next cold season. I have now to thank you for your subvention of 200 rupees to the institution, which was duly realized.

The ordinary honours of professional life were hardly more of an object to Sir Henry, at this advanced point in his career, than the mere emoluments by which he set so little store. But he was no doubt gratified by the testimonial to his military merits which he received in June this year, in the appointment of

honorary aide-de-camp to the Queen, which was probably given him through the influence of his steady friend and admirer, Lord Hardinge.

To return again to Sir Henry's public career as "Legatus" of the vast province entrusted to him :—It so happened that the first transaction of any importance in which he was engaged brought him into collision with Lord Dalhousie on a point on which both felt very strongly. Kerowlee, a very insignificant Rajpoot State, lies in the vicinity of Bhurtpore. Shortly before Sir Henry's assumption of office the chief of this little sovereignty had died, adopting, on the day of his death, a boy who was a distant kinsman as his successor. Colonel Low, then Agent, recommended that this adoption should be recognized. The Governor-General saw an opening for proceeding with his favourite schemes of annexation ; but there was a division of opinion in his Council on the subject —Sir Frederick Currie supporting Colonel Low's recommendation. The matter was referred to England. The authorities here overruled the scheme of annexation, and sanctioned the succession of Bhur Pal—the boy in question. The Governor-General consulted Sir Henry Lawrence. Sir Henry, as might be expected, was opposed to annexation, but he thought the adoption invalid,⁸ and gave it as his decided opinion that Muddun Pal, "as nearest of kin, as accepted by the Ranees, by the nine most influential Thakoors, by three-fourths of the lesser feudal chiefs, and, as far as can be judged, by the almost general feeling of the country," should be recognized as Maharajah of Kerowlee. The following is from the semi-

⁸ Papers furnished for the House of Commons, 4th August 1855.

official report which he addressed to Lord Dalhousie, and which, strangely enough, does not appear at length in the printed papers, though quoted in them, and followed by a subsequent letter, entering more generally into the question of Rajpoot adoptions :—

To LORD DALHOUSIE.

April 5, 1853.

I did not ask the chiefs who spoke in favour of Muddun Pal, the Governor, of their preference. I should not have thought it right to encourage such discussion. I have no doubt, however, that they referred to the abstract right. Indeed, one of them (the Alwur Rajah) made use of the word "Nuggr" or right. Several of the Kerowlee Thakoors having also used the same expression when speaking of the rival claimants, I thought it my duty to report the fact of the feeling of the influential classes being in favour of Muddun Pal, but I did not mean thereby to give an opinion on the question of adoption. Indeed, I am not competent to offer one of any value, for I have not studied such questions, nor had anything to do with them. I believe, however, that the nearest of kin has the first claim, if there be no personal objection. In the present case it may be said there was personal enmity ; and if either the late Rajah or his mother be entitled to adopt, neither of them could be expected to choose Muddun Pal. The Kerowlee chiefs who petitioned Government in favour of Muddun Pal did so in general terms. Had they been asked their reasons, they would, I think, have assigned the late Rajah's youth ; and, still more, his wishes not being made known till he was on his death-bed. But, were the adoption to be set aside, the Hindoo law, I believe, gives the selection of an heir to the mother of the deceased Rajah, and, in this case, I understand the Ranee to approve the choice made by her. So that the question appears to be, whether the election is to be left to the chiefs or to the family of the Prince. I speak with great diffidence, but I am of opinion that the Hindoo law gives the chiefs no voice in the matter ; indeed, that the principality is dealt with as a private

estate. . . . This (Aboo) is a heavenly place, and we are right glad to get to it after our 700 miles' march, which I made, by diversions to all the principal places, more than 1,200. The roads are execrable indeed, even at Ajmeer; there can hardly be said to be one in the whole country.

The new Agent thus found himself in opposition at once to both his superior authorities—to the Governor-General, "frustrate of his will" in favour of annexation, and to the Court of Directors, whose decision in favour of Bhurt Pal was thus called in question. However, the opinion of Sir Henry Lawrence ultimately prevailed. "The continuance of the present unsettled state of the succession," says Lord Dalhousie, "is objectionable; and as Sir Henry Lawrence has now supplied the Government with the means of forming a decision, I would at once instruct him to recognize and to instal Muddun Pal at Kerowlee."

Besides supervising the durbars of Native potentates, receiving their complaints, and settling their quarrels, the principal subjects to which he addressed his attention seem to have been three: the suppression of suttee and infanticide, and the establishment of something like prison discipline. Towards the first he made progress beyond his own hopes, and effected a good deal for the second; but the inveterate practice of infanticide, so closely connected with Rajpoot prejudice and pride of caste, was not to be put down during the few years of his tenure of office.

The following relates to the very entangled subject of the practice of "adoption" in the great Rajpoot families—a subject on which, it must be confessed, not only do very divergent doctrines prevail, but clever British functionaries seem ingenious in inventing doctrines for themselves.

To LORD DALHOUSIE.

14th April 1853.

It having occurred to me that your lordship's note of the 23rd requires a more definite opinion than that given in my letter of the 5th instant, I have since examined such books as are within my reach on Hindoo inheritance, and have read the voluminous correspondence recorded in the office, on the occasions of several previous minorities. I have not, however, by me a copy of the Shaster, or of Maenaghten's translation, but believe that I have correctly ascertained the general law, as also the practice of Rajpootana.

I was wrong in supposing that a mother could adopt. The original law of Menu did not allow even a widow to do so. Most of the schools, however, give such permission, on the assumption that a widow is acquainted with the sentiments of her deceased husband. I believe the Shaster to declare, as is reasonable to suppose, that the person adopting must be of sound mind and of mature age. The practice in Rajpootana has given the Thakoors a decided voice in adoptions. In 1819, when the Jyepoor Rajah died, an adopted child was put up, and, as far as I can gather, would have been maintained, had the votes of the Thakoors been with him. Sir D. Ochterlony, evidently to the last, considered that the posthumous son, born nine months after the Rajah's death, was spurious. The mother's pregnancy was not reported till two months after the Rajah's death; and yet, the adoption was set aside, chiefly as seems to me, because the general feeling was in favour of the posthumous son.

Again, on the last succession to Joudpoor, the nearest of kin was *not* adopted; but the reason assigned was, not only that the Ranee stated her deceased husband to have selected Tukht Sing (the present Maharajah), but that the Thakoors were in his favour. Further, in the case of the Kishengurh territory, on the Rajah's death in 1841, the widow adopted a child *not* the next of kin. But, after several reports to Government, in which Colonel Sutherland and Mr. Strachey dwell first on the majority of the Thakoors being in favour of the adoption, and then, after some time of their continuing unanimous, the adoption was confirmed.

I gather, then, that the general law *prefers* the nearest of kin, but does not object to any member of the parent stock being adopted. Further, that the practice of Rajpootana has given the Thakoors a voice in the adoption. Applying these rules and precedents to Kerowlee, and considering that *sixty-six* Thakoors (being, as is told me, all of any importance), petitioned in favour of Muddun Pal, and that Bhurt Pal was adopted by a minor on his death-bed, my opinion is in favour of Muddun Pal, as nearest of kin, and, in the words of his own petition, because Nursing Pal was a minor, *unmarried*, and had no authority, not even to give away a village.

Since receiving your lordship's letter, I have spoken on the subject more freely than I thought it previously right to do, and without expressing any opinion, have asked that of vakeels and others attending my camp. I have found only one opinion on the subject. This day I asked a Thakoor whose name is affixed to the Kerowlee petition, the grounds of his signature. At first he simply replied that it was Muddun Pal's right; but, on my asking him if he gave no weight to adoption, he said, "Certainly, if the Rajah had been of age, and had formally made the selection. But," he added, "what is the adoption of a boy of twelve or fifteen years of age worth?" Kerowlee is a difficult and troublesome country, and unless in the hands of a decidedly good rajah, would, doubtless, be best managed by a British officer. There would likewise be a difficulty in abandoning the parties, chiefly servants, who have stood by Bhurt Pal. On the other hand, were the boy confirmed, he might, on attaining his majority, ruin all the survivors of those who have now voted against him, and they, as I have shown, comprise the whole body of chiefs. In any case, I think it would be well for a time to have a political agent at Kerowlee.

I insert here (merely as in order of date, and not interfering with the narrative of this pueventful part of Lawrence's life) a letter from Colonel, afterwards Sir John, Nicholson, on a subject which now occupied

men's thoughts deeply, and not the least those of the active-minded subject of this memoir. The prospect of war with Russia had wakened up all the old Indian traditions respecting the part played by Indian troops in Egypt during the last campaigns between France and England, and the yearly increasing importance of Egypt to ourselves, as affording the direct communication between England and India, added interest to the topic. Any utterance on military subjects of one on whom the stamp of heroism was so marked as on Nicholson, is worth preserving. "He was an army in himself," says one of his describers:—

Camp Lukhee, 4th May 1853.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,—

I RECEIVED this morning your kind note of the 20th, and Lady Lawrence's of the 16th ultimo. I am delighted to hear you have such an enjoyable climate at Mount Aboo, and neither too much nor too little work. I am so sure that you and Lady Lawrence are much better off personally where you are, than at Lahore, with its bad climate and the overwork and various disagreeabilities attaching to your position there, that I feel it would be selfish to wish you back again. We shall all then try to console ourselves for your loss by rejoicing at the manifest change for the better you have made. John has been very forbearing, and I am sure puts up with much from me on your account.

"I am glad to hear that Sir James has given Alick a writership.

* * *

"Have you seen a report—I hope it is untrue—that Russia has declared war against Turkey? I meditated at one time, while at home, applying for my whole three years' furlough, and employing it in learning Turkish, and making myself acquainted with the principal localities (in a military point of view) in Turkey and Egypt, from a conviction that we must one day have to oppose Russia in the former, and France in

the latter country, and that an English officer with some active experience and a knowledge of the country and language would have a fine field open to him.

Sir J. Hogg and Lord Hardinge, to whom I mentioned my plan, thought the contingency too remote. I begin to suspect that it is not so, and that I should have done wisely had I adhered to my original intention. I don't know if you have ever thought over the subject. I should be very glad to have it demonstrated to me that my fears are groundless, but I confess if France should ever make an attempt on Egypt (and who will say it is unlikely?) it appears to me that the chances of success are very much in her favour. She has abundance of spare troops in the south of France and in the north of Africa, and she has the means of transport ever ready at Algiers, Toulon, and Marseilles. Alexandria is always weakly garrisoned, and since the days of Mahomed Ali and Ibrahim Pasha, the Egyptian troops have no pretensions to efficiency or esprit.

If France suddenly landed 30,000 men there, she would probably carry the place by a *coup de main*. Our Mediterranean fleet is not strong enough (even if it had warning, which it probably would not) to stop such an armament, and Alexandria would probably be France's, about the time the intelligence of the sailing of the expedition from Toulon was received at London.

Egypt was a different country during the last war, and we should, I think, bear the difference in mind. Alexandria had no fortifications then. It has very formidable ones now. We had the Mamlukes to co-operate with us then. They no longer exist, and to the wretched Egyptian peasants and the Pasha's dispirited army it must be a matter of entire indifference to what state they transfer their allegiance.

I am convinced that any European force which surprised Alexandria would find the whole country at its feet immediately, and from the natural and artificial strength of the position, have little difficulty in holding it against any *second comer*.

If Louis Napoleon could come to an understanding with

Russia, promising non-interference in Turkey, in lieu for non-interference in Egypt, his game would, of course, be much simplified, and ours rendered desperate in proportion.

Well, I had no idea of writing such a yarn when I commenced, and all this may be great nonsense. It would be very satisfactory to me to have it demonstrated that it is so. With kind regards to Lady Lawrence,

Ever very sincerely,

J. NICHOLSON.

Lord Dalhousie had offered him about this time a transfer to the political agency of Hyderabad, the Nizam's territory, to which proposal he thus replies :—

17th July 1853.

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt, yesterday, of your lordship's letter of 4th instant, offering me the Residency of Hyderabad. As your lordship is so good as to leave me an option, I respectfully beg permission to decline this offer.

Lest my motives should be misunderstood, allow me to add a few words of explanation.

You know that my health is bad, and that it was with difficulty I struggled through the fatigue and vexation of the last four years at Lahore. Your lordship's kind permission to reside during the hot weather at Aboo gives an opportunity for recruiting my energies, worn out during a busy career of thirty-one years. This may seem inconsistent with my desire to remain in the Punjab; but there I had mastered my work and was intimately acquainted with the country, the people, and the officers of all ranks. I sought, then, to stay there, because I felt myself at home, and that my past labours had earned comparative future repose. I bitterly lamented my departure; but having here worked hard to acquaint myself with my duty, I now see my way before me, and though the work is not to my taste, as a direct civil charge was, or would be, yet I freely confess that personally, I am happier, and better off, than I was at Lahore. At Hyderabad my position would be entirely different from what it was in the Punjab.

The field, as your lordship observes, is now of increased importance, and it is not without a struggle that I forego such an opening as you have had the goodness to give me. Ten years ago it would have been my highest ambition, but now I do not honestly feel that I could do justice to the work, with everything to reconstruct, an army to reduce and organise, an able and discontented sovereign to humour, a system of civil administration to introduce, in three extensive tracts, lying in three different directions, each more than a hundred miles from the capital. To undertake all this with a weakened frame, with no one individual European or native known to me, entirely ignorant of the country and all belonging to it, is more than I could venture. I should lose the little health remaining to me, and possibly too, lose such reputation as I may have earned. It is not my nature to rest till I have seen my whole charge, which could not be done in a climate like the Dekkan without exposure, that now I could not stand.

There are other and "minor considerations to weigh with me. I am out of pocket about 1,000*l.* by coming here. A move to Hyderabad would cost me even more. I hope I need hardly add that none of the foregoing considerations would weigh with me if the public service required my presence; but as your lordship's offer is purely a matter of favour, I am glad to be permitted to decline. I did not ask for Hyderabad for its own sake, but simply as being the post next in importance to Lahore, a move to which would bear least the appearance of a push out. When, however, you offered me Rajpootana, though I felt it would lessen me in the eyes of others (as indeed it has done), I did not, circumstanced as I was, decline. It was a fresh mortification to find the civil charge of Ajmeer, nominal as it was, withdrawn from the agent, just at that time. However, on the whole, I feel as I have said, that I have benefited, and I thank your lordship for the compliment you have now paid me, and for allowing me the option respectfully to decline.

The next is to his fast friend Lord Hardinge, on

the affairs of the Punjab, and on his own position and prospects.

July 4th 1853.

I have to thank you for a kind and interesting letter received last May, and this day's mail has brought me your note of 10th May to my brother, Dr. Bernard, acknowledging receipt of what my good friends at home consider my grumbling epistle of March. My sister, Mrs. Bernard, tells my wife she would have burked it had she had the opportunity. I was slow in writing at all, but now, after six months' reflection, I do not see what less I could, in honesty and candour, have said—I must have written as I did or held my peace altogether. John Lawrence allows that I never lose my temper in writing, and even Lord Dalhousie admitted that my tone to him was quite proper. I hope then that my letter to your lordship was not an exception to my rule. I was much obliged for the copy of your evidence before the Committee. I hope we shall have a good deal of reform without materially altering the present Constitution. It would be nonsense to put Natives into Council, or make them Sudder Judges; but into almost all other offices they may be gradually introduced, keeping the present generation well under supervision. Many a good native officer is lost or ruined for want of such supervision. I am surprised to hear that George Clerk proposed to put natives at once into any situation and to pay them as much as Europeans. Clerk's error used to lie the other way, towards paying them too little. Many a fight have I had with him on these subjects. But the native Army, I think, wants reform even more than the native Civil branch. Is it not too much to expect from human nature that men should, under all circumstances, be faithful in an army of more than 800,000 men, wherein the highest attainable rank is that of sonadar, major, or ressaldar? No doubt the service is an excellent one for ninety-nine men out of every 100; but we sadly want an outlet for the one bolder and more ambitious spirit which must exist in every 100; and, for want of this legitimate outlet, we may some day meet

with a great catastrophe, or be content to go on with a system that does not get out of a native Army half what might be got. I cannot perceive the danger of making soubadars and jemadars of irregular corps captains and lieutenants. They virtually are such, but without the pay. Double their present rates, and make these posts prizes from the Line as well from the Irregular Service, and you will at once put irregular corps on at least a footing with average corps of the Line, commanded as these are by worn-out colonels, aided by discontented captains and subalterns. For Bengal have only fifty corps of the Line, and, let there be a captain and two subalterns for each company of those fifty corps, and let all the rest of the army be officered by three, or by one European officer, so as to give openings for adjutant, or second in command, or even of commander occasionally, to deserving natives. Such a scheme *may* appear over liberal, because we have hitherto gone on a different system; but how we have gone on, and how nearly we have more than once, been extinguished, your lordship knows. Rome survived for centuries by liberality to the soldiers of her provinces. So did the Mahomedan power in India. And, nearer home, does not Austria at this moment hold Italy with Hungarian bayonets? and Hungary with Italians? and can many of the officers or men of the Russian army be considered more loyal than are the soldiers of India? At this moment we have six battalions in the Punjab under the name of Police corps, all commanded by Natives, and doing excellent service, three of them on the frontier. There are also twenty-seven troops of cavalry of 100 men each similarly commanded and doing equally good service. If such men are good for the Punjab, why not for Bengal or elsewhere? There is an article in the Calcutta Review which I wrote ten years ago, on the military defence of India. I have now little to add or alter, and only wish that those in power would deal with the army for futurity—for the time when we may have a European Army, or one led by Europeans, to deal with. I would also gladly give up a percentage of my staff salary to add to the pay

of brevet majors and captains who have obtained brevet by seniority.

The discontent of regimental officers is a great hindrance to improvement; but I do not think that the remedy often suggested, of preventing staff officers returning to regimental duty, would answer. On the contrary, I think it often advantageous to a man to be taken from his corps. Gilbert, Littler, Nott, and others, the best of our officers, passed the greater part of their career on the staff. And, as regards myself, and others similarly circumstanced, I have seen much more military service, as well as had more responsible duty, than if I had been with my troop for the last fifteen years. In fact, I have been a general of division, and am, at this moment, a brigadier. I did not intend to trouble your lordship with this long tirade, but, when I write, I must say what is uppermost. The Guide Corps you raised at my request, has held its ground, as the best irregular corps in India. The present commander is a young fellow, Hodson by name,⁴ whom you gave me at Lahore in 1847. He is a first rate soldier, and as your lordship likes young officers in command, I beg to bring him to your notice for a brevet majority. Sir C. Napier thinks highly of him, and I believe, held out to him hopes of the rank. Hodson is a most ambitious, and most gallant fellow, and very able in all departments. He was through both the Sikh campaigns; in the latter, with the Guides. Captain Coke, an old officer of twenty-six years' service, has admirably commanded the 1st Regiment Punjab Native Infantry, since it was raised. He was with Colin Campbell in his fights in Yusufzye and the Kohat Pass. He is an admirable officer, and chafes much at being so often superseded. If you could make him a brevet major, you would cheer the heart of a deserving old soldier. You will not, I hope, be offended at my boldness. For two years I have thought of making these requests. You kindly tell Dr. B. that you have mentioned me to the Indian authorities as the man for Governor of one of the minor presidencies. Their reply was akin to Lord Dalhousie's

⁴ Well known in after-days at the recapture of Delhi.

declaration that, "if Sir T. Munro was now head of the Board, I should still say that a civilian was required as chief commissioner." But supposing I were really ignorant of land tenures, and of the zemindary and Ryotwaree systems, surely this would not constitute a valid objection to my being governor? As well might a lawyer be required at the head of the Indian Government, because the judicial system is bad, and requires reform. Just now there is a cross-tide, one current strongly against civilians, the other as strongly in their favour. Both are wrong. Lord Dalhousie talks of the training of a civilian. Why, it is acknowledged to be as bad as possible; and the wonder is, how such good men are turned out from so bad a school. Everything is made to their hands. Few of them ever do detail work. Whereas, I have been a civilian for twenty years in offices, where I was obliged to do my own work. Such are my opinions; but I would not have intruded them on your lordship, had you not often held out council to me, and had you not now mentioned having asked for a government for me. I may add, that I would rather be chief commissioner of the Punjab, if anything took my brother away, than hold any office in India. Indeed it will be difficult to wipe away the insult I have received, except by replacing me there. I say this the more freely, as my pay here is equal, and my personal comfort in every way greater. John Lawrence is perhaps, next to Thomason, the best civilian on this side of India, i.e., he is the most practical. Such as he is, he would do more justice to any berth than would — or —, though they may both be considered clever men. The Court has thus the means of rewarding both John Lawrence and me, if they choose. I do not think they will deny my qualifications for the Punjab, aided by a judicial and revenue commissioner. I have never asked them for anything, and am not likely to do so now, and if the worst came, work out the remainder of my career with a good measure of contentment here. I hope not again to trouble you with my personal affairs. Your brief sketch of the measures you have taken for the home defences was most welcome. It is unpleasant at this distance to think that

home is not quite safe. In your hands, if armed with sufficient authority, I doubt not all will be well. My wife requests her kindest regards, &c.

I must now return, though it will be for a very brief digression only, to the narrative of Sir Henry's domestic affairs and troubles. We have seen with what gratitude his wife welcomed their new home at Mount Aboo, where she hoped to enjoy to the full the society of her husband, after so many years of partial or total separation as had intervened since he left Nepal for the Punjab. But few and evil were the days allotted for the completion of her pilgrimage. Her health, which had long been feeble in India, declined rapidly after her arrival. The enforced return of her second boy, James, to England, leaving the couple with only the company of their little girl born in the Punjab, seemed to go nigh to break her heart. The last letter in her hand which I have myself discovered among the papers is dated October 18, 1853, to "my own beloved boys, Alick and Harry." "My heart," it begins, "is very full of which I would fain say to you, though strength is lacking. However, my letters for five years have left a record which I may hope will come home to your hearts as you grow in years." Then follow her brief but touching religious exhortations, too sacred for unnecessary exposure. She evidently saw her end approaching; her husband could not part with his own hopes. "It will rejoice our sons," he adds, in a postscript, "to see their mother's handwriting again. . . . Pray remember how much your mother's happiness—indeed, her very life—is in your hands." But the struggle was not to last long. Sir Henry himself conveyed to his sons the intelligence in a letter, of which I only produce some extracts. It

occupied several pages, and was written at intervals in several days. It illustrates more points than are in his character; not only his deep, religious earnestness, but that singularly restless activity of mind which was forced to discharge itself, when no other vent was at hand, in committing to paper every thought and feeling as they arose, and endeavouring to share them lavishly with those at a distance whom he loved, even during that trance of bitter sorrow which for a passing time incapacitates most men for exertion.

MY DEAR SONS,—

Mount Abu, Jan. 15th 1854.

By the side of the remains of what, five hours ago, was your fond mother I sit down to write to you, in the hope that, weak as may be my words, you will both of you, Alick and Harry, remember them as the dying message of your mother, who never passed a day, indeed an hour, without thinking of you, and the happiness of whose life was the fortnightly letters telling her that you were good, well, and happy. Two hours after her death, which occurred at twenty minutes to twelve to-day, your letters of December reached me. She had been looking out for them, as she was accustomed to do, from the earliest date of their being due; and her pleasure, nay delight, was always great when all was well and her sons seemed to be trying to do their duty. Her daily prayer was that you might be good boys and live to be good men—honest and straightforward in word and deed; kind and affectionate, and considerate to all around you, thoughtful and pitiful for the poor and the weak and those who have no friends. . . .

It is time, Alick, that you make up your mind as to your future career. Tell your uncles about it. Even Addiscombe will require exertion. You think now that you would not care to be a civilian, and that it is not worth the trouble of trying for; but ten years hence you will assuredly regret if you now let go by the opportunity. To the qualified man the Civil Service is a noble field; to an unfit person it and

every other field will be a field of vexation and degradation to himself and friends. . . .

Half an hour before I began to write on these two sides of this sheet I had taken my last earthly look at my wife and your mother. Corruption was gaining on her. I had slept on the verandah, as near as the doctor would permit me. . . . So I went and took my last look of her dear sweet face, and prayed for the last time by her side—prayed that what I had neglected to do during her life I might now do after her death, prayed that her pure spirit might be around you and me, to guide us to good and shield us from evil. . . .

Mamma said little to me during her last illness. She knew I weakly feared to part with her. She welcomed Mr. Hill as having come to see her die; and about midnight told me she would not be alive twelve hours. Again I say, my boys, remember with love, and show your love by your acts: few boys ever had such a mother.

So passed away as high-minded, noble-hearted a woman as was ever allotted for a life's companion to one called to accomplish a laborious and honourable career. The contents of these volumes, and the expressions of affectionate admiration devoted to her memory by the intimate friend of both—Sir Herbert Edwardes—in the first of them, speak sufficiently for themselves, and need no recapitulation. But to me, in thus writing my last respecting her, there recur the memories of earlier, though more transitory, acquaintance. My family had a slight friendly connection with hers, and it was to the care of my father in London that she was consigned in one of those early visits which are noticed in the third chapter of this work. And well do I remember, after so many years, the impression made on our circle by those fine features and the still more striking figure; the freshness, almost wildness, of that natural grace; the frank, unencumbered

demeanour, and the step of an huntress Diana. I remember her unrestrained, yet graceful, eagerness to make acquaintance with the sights and novelties of a world almost strange to her; the singular absence of self-consciousness, either in regard of personal or intellectual advantages, with which she seemed to devote herself to "objective" study of things external; but I was, for my own part, unaware of the very existence of the young lieutenant of artillery who, even then, lay at ambush in the corners of streets in the hope of seeing her pass by. I never met with her again. I have heard that her early beauty did not long withstand the vicissitudes of health and the climate of India, and, moreover, that the naturalness of manner which was among the greater attractions of her youthful days was connected with a certain indolence as to outward details, and disregard of the grand duty of maintaining personal charms in the most advantageous condition, which used to render her, as well as her husband, the objects of some smiling satire in later times. He used to call himself the worst-dressed man in India. If so, I am glad to have retained my own unspoilt vision. In the little chapel attached to the Lawrence Asylum at Kussowlee there is a stained glass window, and a monumental slab, with an inscription in memory of Honoria Lawrence.

I subjoin a token of interest on this occasion from some attached friend, evidently one of the many who had to thank Lawrence for personal acts of kindness.

Sandhurst, April 2 (1854?).

I cannot say how deeply I grieved over the sad intelligence which lately reached us. I had really had so much pleasure in hearing how happy you were at Ajmeen, enjoying more peace and comfort in domestic life than you have before had.

leisure for : and now to hear of your cup of happiness being suddenly so embittered, is very, very sad. My dear Sir Henry, I know that you have the best and only source of consolation to look to, and therefore I need not suggest it. I only wish to express in few words my hearty sympathy in your sorrow, and my hope and prayer that the God you have boldly and faithfully confessed and served will support you, and grant you alleviations to your grief, and some I see in the presence of your kind sister-in-law. I hope the good wishes and prayers of the numbers that you have served and befriended may avail you somewhat now. I fully believe in the efficacy of the knowledge that they are deserved in soothing the very sharp edge of affliction, and the consciousness that you have not hitherto lived quite uselessly in the world, and that you may yet accomplish more good, will enable you to bear up against too great depression. Pray remember me kindly to your brother George and Miss Lawrence ; and believe me ever, my dear Sir Henry, one of the befriended, thoroughly conscious of your kind encouragement, and grateful for it ; and now often thinking with affection of you and sympathy for your sorrow.

REYNELL E. TAYLOR.

That Sir Henry's thoughts after this, his great bereavement, became more and more intently fixed on those religious subjects which had engrossed the inmost soul of her whom he had lost was to be expected from his character ; and those who have studied it will comprehend the mixture of simplicity and earnestness with which he turned to the elementary subject of the proof of natural as well as revealed religion, after so many years of practical evidence of the reality of his faith. "Help thou mine unbelief" was with him no mere "call out of the depths," uttered by one out-wearied with over-deep meditation on things beyond our reach. He had not attained thus far in speculative philosophy, nor was his

mind of that order. His doubts lay on the surface, as did his convictions, intellectually speaking ; his faith underlay the whole. After his wife's death, he seems to have made a spiritual director, in some sort, of Mrs. Hill, of Dinafore—a singularly gifted woman, and one of his Honoria's dearest friends. At least I find a memorandum of Sir Herbert's to this effect :—

Mrs. Hill, in a letter of Easter Day, 1854, from Dinafore, answers a letter of Sir Henry's, asking her to resolve certain difficulties in religion. These, from her answers, seem to have been,—

He “hardly knew what he believed, what he disbelieved. He would believe all, did he know how.”

He “wonders why we are allowed to sin and to suffer, why some are born to bliss, and others to misery.”

He “believes that Christ was God, yet cannot understand how, being so, he suffered.”

He “desires to be assured that he and his departed wife must hereafter dwell together.”

He “thinks God's dealings with the Jews very mysterious.”

I have not found Mrs. Hill's letter in question. Some of Sir Henry's queries may have cost her little trouble ; others will remain unanswered until the society of this world is dissolved, and its interests have passed away.

Sir Henry found relief where most men, so circumstanced and so qualified as himself, usually find it—in additional devotion to the work which he had to do. Yet, though it occupied now even more of his thoughts and attention, it is impossible to mistake a tone of languor and listlessness—partly, no doubt, attributable to weakened health as well as mental distress—which, more or less, pervades his later correspondence in Rajpootana. He wrote continually to his two boys in

England, and his letters are full of a father's interest in his little girl "Horry," now six years old, and his sole companion, with the exception of a kind sister-in-law, who took charge of her.

On June 19, 1854, Sir Henry attained the rank of colonel, and on the 20th was appointed Honorary Aide-de-Camp to the Queen.

The following is addressed to his friend, Sir John Kaye, and relates to a good many matters of personal interest, besides the affairs of Rajpootana. Although great part of it has been printed already in Kaye's *Lives of Indian Officers*, it casts so much light on the subjects to which his administrative activity was at this time directed, that I think it advisable to reproduce it here. One thing may be noticed: that he seems to speak of prospects of annexation, in this letter to an intimate ally, with less aversion than he commonly displayed on more public occasions.

Mount Aboo, June 19th 1854.

MY DEAR KAYE,—

YOUR letter of April only reached me a few days ago, after the letter of May that had come by Bombay. Pray in future direct to me Mount Aboo, via Bombay. I hope you have not reprinted my Napier Papers in England. If I publish again, it must be in a more leisurely manner, and I must see the proofs. My writings are not fit to be published off-hand. Besides, when I was writing, my mind was ill at ease. If Sir William Napier calls me names, which he probably will do, I will send you home a short letter to publish in the Times; and reserve any detailed answer for greater leisure and quiet. I have got a great mass of materials about Scinde, from various parties, friends and foes, of Sir Charles; their perusal gives me a better opinion of his Scinde administration than I had before, and leads me to think that the article in the *Calcutta Review*, written by Lieutenant James, four years ago, was not a truthful one.

that is, that his facts were often distorted. He was our chief authority on Scinde matters, and we had no reason to suppose he would mislead us. Last year I engaged to Government to re-write and enlarge Sutherland's sketches. It will be a more formidable job than I contemplated. Sutherland's book was meagre regarding many states, and altogether omitted some of the principal. He wrote according to the materials he possessed. I have sent a circular calling for reports up to May 1854. I hope it is true that you are writing Sir C. Metcalfe's life; it would be very valuable, and, from your pen, very interesting. Thank you for Colonel Ludlow's letter about suttee; it is very interesting. Strange enough, I did not know that four out of five of the states mentioned had put down suttee. This office was in such frightful confusion that there is even still some difficulty in finding out what has been done. I have nearly completed the arrangement of the books and papers on shelves, and indexed the former and had lists of the latter made. Until I came all were stowed away in beer boxes, &c., all sorts of things and papers mix'd together, and the mass of boxes left at Ajmeer, while the agent was usually here or elsewhere. I have had everything brought here. Last month I circulated a paper calling for information as to what had been done in every principality about suttee. I was induced to do so by the Maharana of Oodeypoor ignoring the fact of anything having been effected at Jeypoor, and by a suttee having recently occurred in Banswara and two in Muilancee, a Purgunnah of Jurdpoor (Marweer), which has been under our direct management during the last twenty years. With all respect for Colonel Ludlow, I think we can now fairly do more than he suggests. Twenty years ago the case might have been different, but we are now quite strong enough to officially denounce murder throughout Hindostan. I have acted much on this principle without a word on the subject in the treaty with Goolab Singh. I got him in 1846 to forbid infanticide, suttee, and child-selling. He issued a somewhat qualified order without much hesitation, telling me truly he was not strong enough to do more. We were,

however, strong enough to see that his orders were acted on, and suttee is now almost unknown in all the western hills. I do not remember above two cases since 1846, and in both, the estates of offenders were resumed. I acted in the same manner, though somewhat against Sir R. Shakespeare's wishes in the first instance, in the Mullanee cases, but on the grounds of the whole body of Thakoors having since agreed to consider suttee as murder, and having also consented to pay 2,000 rupees a year among them as the expense of the local management (which heretofore fell on Government), I have backed up Shakespeare's recommendation that the sequestered villages should be restored. The parties have been in confinement several months; the Joudpoor punishment for suttee was a fine of five per cent. on one year's income, which was sheer nonsense, and would never have stopped a single suttee. Banswara has also been under our direct management for the last five or six years owing to a minority; the people pretended they did not know suttee had been prohibited. The offenders have been confined, and I have proclaimed that in future suttee will be considered murder. Jeypoor is my most troublesome state: the Durbar is full of insolence. We have there interfered too much and too little. Men like Ludlow would get on well enough through their personal influence, at such a place; but the present agent, though a well-meaning, well-educated man of good ability, is, in my opinion, a hindrance rather than a help. He seems not to have a shadow of influence, and lets the country go to ruin without an effort at amendment. And yet it is very easy, *without offence*, to give hints and help. In the matter of jails, by simply, during a rapid tour, going once into every jail, and, on my arrival here last year, writing a circular remarking that in different jails (without mentioning names), I had seen strange sights that must, if known to beneficent rulers revolt their feelings, &c., &c. I therefore suggested that all princes that kept jails should give orders somewhat to the following Classification, so as to keep men and women ~~separate~~ ^{infect} offenders from minor ones, tried from ~~major~~ ^{part} ~~separate~~ ^{also} ventilation, places to wash, &c. Well.—
[redacted; to give]

in the course of two or three months, I got favourable answers from almost all, and heard that at several places, including Jeypoor, they proposed to build new jails. At Oodeypore my brother told me that they released 200 prisoners on my circular, and certainly they kept *none* that ought to have been released; for when I went to Oodeypore last July, I found not a man in jail but murderers, *every* individual of whom acknowledged to me his offence as I walked round and questioned them. The Durbar don't like such visits, but they are worth ~~paying~~ at all risks; for a few questions to every tenth or twentieth prisoner gives opportunities to innocent or injured parties to come forward or afterwards to petition. No officer appears ever before to have been in one of these *dens*. But more, I found that the agent at Jeypoor had not been even in the dispensary, which had been 'got up under our auspices, though it was his opinion that the ignorance of the officials was doing mischief. You are right in thinking that the Rajpoots are a dissatisfied, opium-eating race. Tod's picture, however it may have applied to the past, was a caricature on the present. There is little, if any, truth or honesty in them, and not much more manliness. Every principality is more or less in trouble. The princes encroach, or try to encroach, on the Thakoors, and the latter on their sovereigns. We alone keep the peace. The feudal system, as it is called, is rotten at core. In the Karowly succession case I told Government that, according to present rules, no state in Rajpootana could lapse, and such is the fact, if we abide by treaties and past practice; but in saying so I ~~had no~~ ~~was in agreement with Colonel Low, Shakespeare, &c., that it~~

the *Friend of India* newspaper would be likely to break our treaties. Some of ~~them~~ ~~the~~ ~~states~~ ~~had~~ ~~been~~ ~~not~~ ~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~time~~ ~~they~~ ~~were~~ ~~made~~, ~~but~~ ~~they~~ ~~were~~ ~~not~~ ~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~time~~ ~~they~~ ~~were~~ ~~made~~.

